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ABSTRACT

Volume 3 of a four volume collection, this document addresses the extent and the depth of public support in America for domestic social welfare programs and the social, moral, and economic attitudes of the poor and near poor. Specifically, three major sections focus on: the national morale and support for domestic reform; attitudes toward welfare, poverty, and government programs; and attitudes of the poor and near poor. Problems considered in the attitudes toward welfare, are war, inflation, and crime, while issues addressed in the attitudes of the poor and near poor include political views (liberal/conservative), confidence in leaders of key U.S. institutions, anomie, happiness and satisfaction, work, financial situation, social issues, and sexual morality. Two appendices containing the NORC General Social Surveys, 1973-1974 and public opinion data sources and collection are included. (Author/AM)

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Collected Papers on Poverty Issues

DORIS YOKELSON, editor

Volume III:
Public Attitudes Toward Poverty and the Characteristics of the Poor and Near-Poor

by

DORIS YOKELSON

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POLICY RESEARCH
IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

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COLLECTED PAPERS ON POVERTY ISSUES

Edited by
Doris Yokelson

VOLUME III:

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD POVERTY AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR AND NEAR POOR

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Doris Yokelson

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PREFACE TO COLLECTED PAPERS ON POVERTY ISSUES

Collected here, in four volumes, are numerous drafts, papers and reports that were written during the two years from June 1973 to June 1975 by the professional staff and consultants of the Hudson Institute working under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. At the time the papers were written, the idea of putting together this anthology had not yet been born; nor were the authors writing with any particular attempt to relate each paper to the other by any consistent point of view, outcome, or style of writing. This approach is basic to the work of the Hudson Institute; and it was conceived to give rise to a freer and more creative expression of variations in thought about extremely complex issues. This collection retains this characteristic: no attempt was made to edit it into a tight uniformity or to change the individual approach.

Many of the papers are in the form in which they originally appeared as Hudson Institute drafts; others were revised, condensed, updated or extracted from longer reports. Some important subject areas, such as education, are not included in this anthology, as the reports are to be issued separately.

It is hoped that this collection will prove useful to anyone who is approaching the question of poverty either as a novice or as one who has grappled with its problems for many years. Volume I considers American poverty problems and policies of the past, present and future; the philosophical and historical perceptions of poverty, income and income redistribution; the measurement and reduction of poverty; and the workability of some income redistribution programs. Volume II views aspects of low income in America: chapters include the areas of income and employment, the work force, housing, health, crime, food stamps, energy and economic development programs. An examination of public attitudes toward poverty and the characteristics of the poor and near-poor makes up the entire Volume III. The sections of this volume cover both the extent and depth of the American public's support for domestic social welfare programs and the social, moral and economic attitudes of the poor and near-poor. The International volume, Volume IV, which contains chapter studies of poverty and social welfare programs in five West European countries, Canada and Japan, was conceived as an instrument for broadening our own perceptions, here at the Institute, of worldwide problems and solutions; and it is being passed on to you with the same intention. As with all the chapters in this collection, no solutions have been offered; but many problems have been raised, issues sorted out and elucidated, often in new ways, and recommendations suggested.

Note to Volume III:

Volume III was originally issued as HI-2256-RR (Draft). The first two sections are revisions of two earlier drafts, "National Morale and National Support for Domestic Reform," HI-2111/2-D, October 21, 1974 and "Differences Between Attitudes Toward Providing Welfare and About Welfare," HI-2172-D, December 6, 1974. They have been considerably revised, expanded and updated in this present version.

Doris Yokelson

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by Esther Adam

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I. NATIONAL MORALE AND SUPPORT FOR DOMESTIC REFORM

A marked lowering of morale has been taking place in this country since the end of the 1960s. It began before the country became beset by serious worries of inflation and by the Watergate affair. This does not mean that the spiraling inflation and recession fears will not in themselves have a marked effect on confidence. On the contrary: their impact on national morale can be considered radical; and experience has shown that apart from war, inflation, or a serious recession, is the outstanding concern of Americans as long as it lasts.

The reasons for the lowering of morale seemed to be rooted in the sense of alienation many Americans were feeling in relation to the running of their governmental, social and business institutions and to the breakdown which seemed to be taking place among groups of society, the political party structure and personal and moral values. By the beginning of 1970, numerous polls and articles were appearing showing that the population as a whole was becoming more and more unhappy with the performance of the institutions in our present-day society. This unhappiness appeared as an aggregate of attitudes both from the Left and Right--attitudes which saw the administration of these institutions to be either too oppressive, too lax or too unresponsive to the needs of the ordinary man.

But the sense of growing alienation Americans were experiencing in relation to the running of their social and political institutions did not seem to have reflected on their feelings of personal happiness. Over the last three decades, Americans have consistently felt a high degree of happiness in self-reported polls. One series of polls, reprinted in the following table from a study by Norman Bradburn, show that from

DISTRIBUTION OF AVOWED HAPPINESS IN SELECTED STUDIES

SAMPLE	DATE	PERCENT "VERY HAPPY"	PERCENT "PRETTY HAPPY"	PERCENT "NOT TOO HAPPY"	TOTAL PERCENT	TOTAL N
NATIONWIDE:						
Probability[a]	Spring, 1957	35	54	11	100	2,460
Probability--Catholic[b]	Winter, 1963	36	55	9	100	2,062
Quota[c]	December, 1963	32	51	16	99[d]	1,501
Quota[e]	June, 1965	30	53	17	100	1,469
SPECIAL SAMPLES:						
Four Illinois towns[f]	March, 1962	24	59	17	100	2,006
Unemployed men[g]	June, 1963	22	44	34	100	390
Urban renewal area--Negro[h]	January, 1964	18	47	35	100	614
PRESENT STUDY:						
Detroit suburb	January-February, 1963	36	57	7	100	542
	June-July, 1963	38	58	4	100	480
	October-November, 1963	35	59	6	100	427
	January-February, 1964	32	63	5	100	448
Detroit inner city	January-February, 1963	17	56	27	100	447
	October-November, 1963	20	57	23	100	350
Chicago	January-February, 1963	31	50	19	100	252
	October-November, 1963	29	59	11	99[d]	177
Washington suburban county	January-February, 1963	35	57	8	100	1,277
	October-November, 1963	33	61	6	100	1,001
Ten metropolitan areas	January-February, 1963	33	59	8	100	270
	October-November, 1963	30	62	8	100	208

[a] Gurin et al. (1960).

[b] NORC unpublished data, Study 476.

[c] NORC unpublished data, Study SRS 160.

[d] Not 100 percent because of rounding.

[e] NORC unpublished data, Study SRS 857.

[f] Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965).

[g] Unpublished data from NORC study of plant shutdown in Sioux City, Iowa; see Bradburn (1964).

[h] Unpublished data from NORC study of urban renewal in St. Louis; see Treiman (1964).

SOURCE: Norman M. Bradburn, The Structure of Psychological Well-Being (Chicago: Adline Publishing Co., 1969) p. 40.

1957 to 1963 about a third of the general populace considered themselves "very happy" and at least another one-half "pretty happy." This varied, however, by subpopulations: four economically depressed towns in Illinois showed less happiness, as did Negro respondents in a large-city urban area that had been allowed to deteriorate and was anticipating urban renewal.

Gallup polls taken in 1947, 1970 and 1973 showed increases in general happiness in the later years. Some of the strongest cleavages were found among the variables of race, education and income, with blacks, the poorer and less-educated feeling considerably less happy than others. In the 1970 poll, increased age was found to be related to less happiness, this is not the case, however, in the responses to the National Opinion Research Center's 1974 General Social Survey, which showed older persons to be personally happier than the young.*

---

*This survey forms the basis of the third section of this report. It is one of a series of five consecutive General Social Surveys being conducted nationally by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago as part of the National Data Program for the Social Sciences. The first survey was made in July 1972.

ARE YOU HAPPY?[*]

QUESTION: "In general, how happy would you say you are--
very happy, fairly happy, or not happy?"

	VERY HAPPY	FAIRLY HAPPY	NOT HAPPY	DON'T KNOW
	1947			
NATIONAL	38%	57%	4%	1%
	December 5-7, 1970			
NATIONAL	43	48	6	3
SEX				
Men	42	49	6	3
Women	44	46	7	3
RACE				
White	46	46	5	3
Non-White	20	63	12	5
EDUCATION				
College	51	42	4	3
High School	44	49	4	3
Grade School	35	50	11	4
OCCUPATION				
Prof. & Business	53	40	4	3
White Collar	48	43	8	1
Farmers	41	47	5	7
Manual	43	50	4	3
AGE				
21-29 Years	55	39	5	1
" " (1947)[**]	23			
30-49	42	51	4	3
50 & Over	38	50	8	4
POLITICS				
Republican	45	47	4	4
Democrat	38	50	8	4
Independent	47	46	6	1
INCOME				
$15,000 & Over	56	37	4	3
10,000-14,999	49	47	3	1
7,000- 9,999	47	46	5	2
5,000- 6,999	38	52	7	3
Under $3,000	29	55	13	3
COMMUNITY SIZE				
1,000,000 + Over	38	51	10	1
500,000 - 999,999	34	54	7	5
50,000 - 499,999	46	46	5	3
2,500 - 49,999	48	43	6	3
Under 2,500, Rural	45	47	4	4

[*] Gallup Opinion Index No. 94, April 1973, p.24; No. 67 January 1971, p. 21.

[**] Philadelphia Inquirer, January 14, 1971, p. 1.

QUESTION: "In general, how happy would you say you are--very happy, fairly happy, or not at all happy?"

	VERY HAPPY	FAIRLY HAPPY	NOT AT ALL HAPPY
		March 1973[*]	
NATIONAL	52%	45%	3%
OCCUPATION			
Professional	57	42	1
Business	59	39	2
Clerical	48	51	1
Sales	59	39	2
Skilled Workers	56	43	1
Unskilled Workers	47	49	4
Operatives	50	46	4
Service	46	51	3
Laborers	39	57	4
Farmers	60	40	[**]

Three National Opinion Research Center polls, spanning the years 1972 to 1974, again showed about one-third of the general population to be "very happy" and an additional one-half "pretty happy."[***]

QUESTION: "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?"

	VERY HAPPY	PRETTY HAPPY	NOT TOO HAPPY
NATIONAL			
1972	30%	53%	16%
1973	36	51	13
1974	38	49	13

---

[*] _Gallup Opion Index_, April 1973

[**] Less than one percent.

[***] General Social Surveys, 1972-1974

Another approach to how Americans view their personal lives is provided by the question on how exciting life is to them. In a 1969 Gallup poll, the responses were the following:

QUESTION: "In general, do you find life exciting, pretty routine, or dull?"

	EXCITING	ROUTINE	DULL	NO OPINION
National	47%	43%	8%	2%
White	49	43	7	1
Nonwhite	29	45	19	7

The same question, asked half a decade later by the National Opinion Research Center, showed similar reactions:*

	EXCITING	ROUTINE	DULL
NATIONAL			
1973	45%	49%	5%
1974	42	50	5

In the NORC survey of 1974, of the areas of life in which Americans are personally involved or have the most personal concern, three-quarters of the country-wide respondents were a very great deal or a great deal satisfied with their family life, almost three-fourths with their friendships, three-fifths with their health and physical condition, slightly over one-half with their non-working activities and just under one-half with the city of place they live in.

---

*General Social Surveys, 1973 and 1974

Two recent studies done by researchers at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan supported many of these general conclusions.

> Both studies reveal that people reserve their ratings of greatest satisfaction for those parts of their lives that are the most intimate and personal. The more removed from them the domain is, the more dissatisfaction they are likely to express. In the Campbell-Converse-Rodgers study, marriage draws the highest rating. Family life gets the next highest rating, followed by 10 domains with similar satisfaction levels. The least satisfaction is expressed with savings and investments and satisfaction in the one other financial domain--standard of living--is also low.
>
> Withey and Andrews have also analyzed whether the concerns (1) required involvement with other people and (2) were personal, local, or national. The results are striking: with a few exceptions, people are most pleased with areas of their lives that involve other people, and there is a step-like progression from the personal concerns (where satisfaction is very high) to the neighborhood and community concerns and finally to the national ones (where dissatisfaction predominates).

The findings of these two studies show a generally positive reaction to the question of life satisfaction as a whole.

> How satisfied with their lives are people in this country? Both ISR research investigations document the fact that Americans say they are very content with their lives generally. For example, in the Campbell-Converse-Rodgers study only 7 percent of the people questioned place themselves on the dissatisfied half of the scale, while almost 22 percent describe themselves as belonging to the highest category--"completely satisfied"--and another 39 percent place themselves in the next highest category. In the Withey-Andrews studies the mean response to the question "How do you feel about your life as a whole?" is midway between "pleased" and "mostly satisfied." "One reason for this could be that a large majority of the population think they have better lives than most people," Withey comments.
>
> Both groups of researchers find that the overall quality of life is significantly less satisfying for unmarried people than for married people and that blacks, urban residents, and persons with low social and economic status also find life less satisfying than their counterparts. Young people express less

> satisfaction than older people, although youth is also associated with a greater degree of "happiness."*

A conclusion about the determinants of well-being reached in the Norman Bradburn study, from which the table on avowed happiness was taken, is that high income and education (and thus also economic or material success) are clearly correlated with psychological well-being. The author notes: "it seems clear that the good things of life, both objective and subjective, tend to go together. There is no exchange of happiness for material success, nor is a serious psychological price paid by most people for being successful in the world"; and, "on the average, those who have the better of it in life also are better off psychologically." I should like to quote in its entirety the author's summation of his findings"**

> While...[the table] does not demonstrate anything radically new or surprising, it does paint a clear picture of the world in which the perception of subjective well-being goes hand in hand with those elements of the social structure that are most important in determining a person's position in society. Thus, those who have achieved the socially valued characteristics of high income and education, or the young and well educated who have the potentiality for them, also have the added bonus of a psychological sense of well-being.
>
> Such a view has important implications for our notions of the possible future of our society. On the positive side, data such as these should give pause to those modern-day Cassandras who see the increase in the average level of education and income in society as being associated with an increase in neuroses, tensions, and psychological miseries. As we noted in Chapter 3, whenever there have been systematic

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*"Measuring the Quality of Life in America: A New Frontier for Social Science," ISR Newsletter, Institute for Social Research, the University of Michigan, Vol. II, No. 2 (Summer 1974), pp. 4-5.

**Bradburn, pp. 96-97.

> studies relating levels of education and income to any measure of mental health, the data have clearly shown that those who are fortunate enough to be successful in our society are also reaping psychological rewards.
>
> On the negative side, however, those who are, for whatever reason, denied the goods that are valued in society also are the ones who suffer the most psychologically. Thus, we are denied the comfortable view that the poor and the less educated somehow or other "get more out of life" than those who are successful in the world. While the poor may have their moments of depression and unhappiness, it seems clear that the good things of life, both objective and subjective, tend to go together. There is no exchange of happiness for material success, nor is a serious psychological price paid by the most people for being successful in the world.
>
> We have been implicitly outlining a model of the relationship between a person's position in society and his level of psychological well-being. In applying this model to society, however, there are two facts that the reader should keep in mind. First, the correlation figures here are far from perfect, and there is considerable room for individual variation. Thus, we all know of individuals who are extremely successful and yet are cracked with psychological woes, and of individuals who have been plagued with misfortune and have few financial assets but manage to live happy lives. The existence of many such cases should not, however, detract from the proposition that, on the average, those who have the better of it in life are also better off psychologically. While it does not follow directly from this model, we also expect that as the standards of education and income rise in society, the average level of psychological well-being will increase rather than decrease.
>
> A second thing to keep in mind is that we have said nothing about the way in which income and education act to influence psychological well-being or indeed whether there is anything more than an association among these three variables. In fact, some of the data presented later in this chapter suggest that income itself does not contribute directly to happiness but works through some, as yet unspecified, way in which it enables individuals to lead their lives.

The work of another researcher, who conducted several studies on happiness over a period of a few years, has shown that of all the variables considered, "income had the only significant and positive effect on happiness....Apparently affluence is one of the few things that generally improves life satisfaction. Physical wholeness, mental capacity, and age seem to have little effect on reported happiness."*

With this sense of personal happiness, however, we have been witnessing the growth, reported by various poll organizations over the last decade, of a loss of confidence in our leaders and in the direction the country is moving. The ISR studies measuring life satisfaction have cautioned as to the extent and meaning of the drop in morale:

> More Americans in 1971 felt that on balance things were getting worse in this country (36 percent) than thought they were getting better (17 percent), and they were able to support that feeling by citing many more specific instances of deteriorating conditions than of improving ones. Interestingly, the study team concludes that "it is not the conditions of their own lives which primarily distress them (aside from economic pressures) but the behavior of other people--drug users, immoral people, criminals, protestors. Relatively few people complained of those factors which appeared to underlie the public protest which gave the period its character--the Vietnam War, racial inequality, governmental policies."
>
> Nor did a large proportion of the population feel they were unfairly treated by public officials (22 percent) or that they were not free to live their lives as they please (11 percent).
>
> "These data lead us to believe," the researchers say, "that the extent of national discontent and alienation which existed in the population during the period prior to our survey was probably generally overestimated...Dissatisfaction with national life was high in 1971, but only a small fraction of it could be properly identified as political alienation." The crucial question, they emphasize, is how these attitudes change over time and that can only be answered as new surveys are taken.*

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*ISR Newsletter, Vol. II, No. 2 (Summer 1974), p. 8.

In an article on the analysis of political trust in government,* Arthur H. Miller of the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research reported a "situation of widespread, basic discontent and political alienation [that] exists in the U.S. today." Using the University of Michigan Survey Research Center election studies, Miller found "that support of the federal government decreased substantially between 1964 and 1970." According to Miller:

> ...The findings strongly suggest that policy alternatives more acceptable to the total population will be exceedingly difficult to discover in the future because of the existing degree of issue polarization. This polarization implies that, on the one hand, there is growing discontent among some individuals because of an unfulfilled desire for social change, while, on the other hand, there is an even larger group of alienated individuals who are fearful of change.

Miller argues that "investigation of the data has demonstrated that people lack confidence in the ability of the existing parties to bring about responsive government." His analysis of the data has led him to a disquieting conclusion:

> The results of the study suggest that we are in a critical period of change in the attitude of political trust. There are numerous indications that the distrust of the government has increased beyond the 1970 level. In a system stable as that in the U.S., however, it is difficult to conceive of the trend in trust continuing to decline at the same rate that it has from 1964 to 1970. A slowing in the rate of decline would certainly have been expected to accompany a settlement of the Vietnam conflict, improvement in the economic condition of the country, the easing of racial tensions, and a reduction in turmoil in schools and on university campuses. Indeed, between 1970 and 1972 the decline in political trust was arrested; some segments of the population were even displaying increased trust in the government by the fall of 1972. The Watergate revelations,

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*"Political Trust in Government: 1964-1970," The American Political Science Review, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3 (September 1974), pp. 951-972.

> seemingly unending political scandals in the Nixon administration, continuing inflation, an energy crisis, and a near-collapse in the President's credibility have, however, rendered short-lived any hopes for renewed trust in the near future.

The general assumption Miller draws from this data--"that the results of this study...clearly imply that current discontent in America will not be reduced with a continuation of centrist policies, or centrist politics" is questionable, but discussion of it lies beyond the scope of this paper. The very term "centrist" is subjectively definable on the liberalism-conservatism scale. However, the discussion covered later in this paper--on public responses to social welfare issues--may lend some support to Miller's assumption in that it implies that centrism has either not been understood as it applies to public opinion or the public is less centrist and more reform-minded on numerous issues than has been assumed.

National poll organizations have been showing sharp losses in confidence and morale. Louis Harris surveys of 1966, 1971 and 1973 revealed substantial drops in confidence in the leaders of such institutions as government, religion, courts, trade and education. There was a slight rise in confidence in several areas in 1973.

A Roper survey of nearly 2,000 Americans taken in 1971 underlined the anxiety with the state of American society. Nearly two-thirds of the public felt that "things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track."*

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*Jean Heinig, "Is America Off the Track?" The Roper Report, July 1971, p. 1.

"Do you feel that things in this country are generally going in the right direction today, or do you feel that things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

Right direction	23%
Wrong track	64
No opinion	13

This feeling was also revealed in a Gallup poll reported in the book, Hopes and Fears of the American People, by Albert H. Cantril and Charles W. Roll, Jr.* in answer to the question, "There has been a lot of talk in the news recently about unrest in our country and ill feeling between groups. In general, how concerned are you about this unrest and ill feeling? Do you think it is likely to lead to a real breakdown in this country or do you think it is likely to blow over soon?", the national response was: real breakdown--47 percent, blow over soon--38 percent, and don't know--15 percent. When given six listed reasons from which to choose one or two that were mainly responsible for this unrest and ill feeling between groups, very similar percentage responses, that is, from 31 to 34 percent, were given to five out of six of the choices: "Our traditional way of doing things is not working and some changes are needed if we are to work together." "Some Negroes and other minorities are making unreasonable demands," "The protests are largely communist-inspired." "Our leaders in government and business are not trying hard enough to solve the problems we face and people are losing confidence in them," and "Some young people have gotten out of hand and have no respect for authority." The sixth reason, "Many of the problems our country faces are so big that we can't agree on how to solve them," received a 19 percent response.

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*(New York: Universe Books, 1971) p. 68.

Initially the disaffection appeared in its most apparent form among blacks. Despite the significant amount of data indicating wide and continuing liberalization of public racial attitudes,* there were strong indications of a rapidly growing unhappiness of blacks with the fairness of American institutions and organizations in dealing with them on racial grounds. This was especially noted in surveys done in 1970 and 1971 by Louis Harris on assessment of the administration and U.S. institutions: The seeming paradox of simultaneous increase of white liberalism and black disaffection, broadened to black attitudes toward white society, was noted in a 1974 study of the Detroit area and fifteen large cities by Howard Schuman and Shirley Hatchett. The authors concluded:

> This change in black views may well be as fundamental as the transformation in white views that began in the 1940's (if not before) and has been traced in a number of trend studies. Whites began to become relatively more liberal in racial attitudes at that early date, and have continued this movement over the past three decades, though of course with a long way to go still from the black perspective. Now it appears that black views may have embarked upon an almost equally important shift and movement, one represented by the title of our main index, Alienation from White Society. Like white liberalism, moreover, the future potential of black alienation is indicated by the fact that it has its greatest hold on the young. There is good reason to speculate that in the years ahead both trends will continue: traditional white prejudice will decline further,

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*See among others, Frank E. Armbruster with contributions by Doris Yokelson, The Forgotten Americans: A Survey of Values, Beliefs and Concerns of the Majority (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1972), Chapter III, "An Examination of Negro and White Attitudes," p. 346; numerous polls taken by the Gallup organization in the last decade; the survey data of Angus Campbell of the Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan; and the latest work of Andrew M. Greeley and Paul B. Sheatsley of the National Opinion Research Center reported in "Attitudes Toward Racial Integration," Scientific American (December 1971), pp. 13-19. Greeley and Sheatsley found that "at least on the matter of racial integration the center has floated consistently to the left since 1942. We would also note that the shift has not been impeded (or accelerated, either) by the racial turmoil of recent years."

> but black disillusionment with whites will increase. If this seems paradoxical, it is perhaps no more so than the fact that black optimism survived so many long years of the most intense bigotry on the part of the majority of the white population.[*]

Miller has shed some light on the disaffection of the blacks by finding them dissatisfied with the government's centrist policies and politics--policies which are ineffective in ameliorating the cynicism of the Left or Right and which, by their very ineffectiveness, tend to polarize these groups even further. This, according to Miller, has caused the climate for today's political dilemma.

> Those desirous of change, and particularly blacks--since the contemporary problems so directly affect their lives--are those most in need of the use of political influence to obtain that change; however, they perceive the legitimate means of attaining such influence as ineffective. This suggests for blacks at least, that other means, whether peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, will have to be found to bring about the desired modifications. A move on the part of the administration to make its policies more responsive to the needs of blacks and other minority groups would undoubtedly reduce cynicism among those on the Left, but, as the data suggest, this would at the same time increase the size of the cynical group on the Right and probably intensify its distrust. The current political dilemma arises out of such issue polarization and also out of the difficulties implicit in maintaining government responsiveness and providing for orderly change without the occurrence of intense political conflict under such conditions.[**]

Other analysts have argued that, on the contrary, the political parties have overrepresented the more radical viewpoints; and in doing so they have weakened the representation of the average American to the point where he feels the parties no longer speak for him.[*]

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[*] Black Attitudes, Trends and Complexities (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1974), p. 125.

[**] Miller, The American Political Science Review, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3, p. 970.

Although black disaffection was noted early, the phenomenon of white alienation was simultaneously growing. In a series of surveys designed by Louis Harris to measure "alienation," the greatest source of the recent increase in the national trend in alienation was found by Harris to be attributable to increases in white dissatisfaction. The percentage of black disaffection remained constant since 1972.

> Back in 1972, one of the widest disparities in alienation could be found between blacks and whites, with 66 percent of the blacks feeling critical, compared with a minority of 47 percent of all white people. But now in 1974, the number of blacks who are disaffected has remained at 66 percent, while the number of whites who feel that way has jumped 10 points in two years, from 47 to 57 percent. Increases in white dissatisfactions are the source of recent increases in the national trend.[**]

The overall trend was computed by Harris from the combination of the results of four of the items which had been asked in each "alienation survey since 1966.[***] The indexed trend of alienation since 1966 is as follows:

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[*] See Armbruster, The Forgotten Americans.

[**] The Harris Survey, June 27, 1974. Miller found, however, that "during the two-year period from 1964-1966, while blacks were registering more faith in government, whites exhibited a rapid decline in trust. Since 1966, however, political cynicism has apparently been increasing among blacks and whites, although the rate of change for whites has been at a somewhat slower pace." (Miller, American Political Science Review, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3, p. 954. The question asked as a measure of political trust was, "How often can you trust the government in Washington to do what is right?")

[***] The Harris "alienation" surveys can be found in the last section of this report.

Year	Percent Feel Alienated
1974	59
1973	55
1972	49
1971	42
1969	36
1968	36
1966	26

The recent rise in the cost of living and inflation, which has remained largely unexplained and unrelieved by government, is expected to seriously exacerbate the sense of disaffection. A University of Michigan Survey Research Center report of October 1974 found that consumer confidence fell to its lowest point in the 28 years the Center has been surveying consumer attitudes. The main reason for the new low was seen to be "increased worries about a slowdown in the economy"--a loss of hope that inflation would soon be reduced and mounting pressure on family financial situations.[*]

The work of Lloyd A. Free and William Watts has followed the trend data of national and personal hopes and fears of Americans for the past decade and a half: ladder ratings which indicate shifts in hopes and fears from the past to the present and from the present to the future, showed, in their latest survey in 1974, the sharpest drop ever in personal hopes and fears from past to present. It was also the first time the personal future received a lower rating than the past.[**]

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[*] The Wall Street Journal, October 14, 1974, p. 3.

[**] The surveys were taken in 1959, 1964, 1971, 1972 and 1974 and were reported in William Watts and Lloyd A. Free, State of the Nation 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Associates, 1974); William Watts and Lloyd A. Free, eds. State of the Nation (New York: Universe Books, 1973); Albert H. Cantril and Charles W. Roll, Jr., Hopes and Fears of the American People; Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans

None of this, however, should be construed to mean that Americans have lost confidence in the nation or the nation's future. Such a view would be a basic misconception of the meaning of these indicators. Belief in the life and form of this country runs very deep. It would appear to be the wearing away of the meaning of this country to large numbers of Americans that has contributed to the anxiety felt by so many and may have caused Americans--by and large liberal and becoming more liberal on many issues over time--to call themselves conservative. This latter discussion, which is fundamental to understanding the feelings of many groups of Americans, will be taken up in detail later.

According to a Gallup poll reported in May 1974, seven in ten Americans have a high degree of confidence in America's future. And in another Gallup poll of July 1973, almost two-thirds of persons across the nation gave the United States the highest possible rating. There were differences, however, between population groups: the college-educated and those with high incomes had the most confidence in America's future, and blacks and the poor, the least. The young, the blacks and the college-educated rated the United States the least favorable of all groups.

This period of growth in alienation and loss of confidence in social and political institutions also did not diminish the public's advocacy of government support of social welfare programs. Moreover, trend data covering the years 1935-1965 show that though most Americans

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(Rutgers University Press, 1967); and Hadley Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns (Rutgers University Press, 1965). The lists of the hopes and fears are given in the section of this study on welfare attitudes.

did not understand the specific issues or provisions of the social program

> Most Americans most of the time have supported the social insurance programs examined here at least as a means of responding to the needs of the poor. Most Americans most of the time have at least favored sustaining present levels of welfare, and many have advocated increased welfare expenditures even if it meant an increase in personal taxes. The population does not seem sharply divided across class or residence lines on the degree of its welfare generosity. And despite a tendency to impugn motives of dishonesty to welfare recipients, most Americans seem simultaneously willing to endorse programs for their support.*

Recent data in Louis Harris surveys underlined this response. In a survey taken in February 1973, Harris asked the question: "Let me read you some of the areas of federal spending where President Nixon has proposed some major changes. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with what President Nixon has proposed." Though sympathetic to the idea of reducing federal spending, the American public for the most part favored the continuation of domestic welfare programs (the term "welfare" is used here in its broad sense of well-being and includes all programs which are intended to help those in need, whether contributory or means-tested). According to the Harris survey, a majority felt, by 59-28 percent, that "President Nixon is right in saying that inflation cannot be controlled unless federal spending is cut to the bone," but at the same time the national response to the specific program changes proposed by Nixon was as follows:

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*Michael E. Schiltz, Public Attitudes Toward Social Security 1935-1965, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Research Report No. 33, p. 181.

SPECIFIC NIXON CHANGES[*]

	Agree %	Dis-agree %	Not Sure %
Increase Social Security payments	70	25	5
Increase pay for military personnel to prepare for volunteer army	68	24	8
Increase federal aid for education to state and local gov't.	66	26	8
Eliminate Model Cities program	48	31	21
Expand program to aid minority-owned businesses	48	38	14
Cut down farm price supports paid to farmers	44	44	12
Cut back spending for urban renewal programs	43	42	15
Eliminate Office of Economic Opportunity, the agency running the anti-poverty programs	39	46	15
Increase spending for research into new weapons systems	33	58	9
Cut back loan aid under rural electrification	31	47	22
Cut back Job Corps, designed to help train disadvantaged young people	29	64	7
Place less emphasis on enforcing minority rights and more emphasis on enforcing rights of women	27	50	23
Cut back on federal aid for building new hospitials	24	70	6
Cut back free milk in school lunch programs	18	79	3
Make older people pay more than they now pay for Medicare	5	92	3

In another Louis Harris Survey reported in June 1973, which has the drawback of including in its question several sensitive issues at once--the avoidance of a tax rise, tax ceiling, President Nixon, Congress and Democrats--and obscuring any possible interpretation of the meaning of the response, a plurality of 42-38 percent favored the position of Democrats in Congress that President Nixon's desire to cut existing social programs is wrong.[**]

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[*] The Harris Survey, February 26, 1973.

[**] The Harris Survey, June 18, 1973.

Further, two surveys by Louis Harris in January 1971 and April 1974 showed the public clearly in favor of a comprehensive federal health insurance plan:[*]

> "It has been proposed that Congress pass a comprehensive health insurance program which would combine federal government, employer, and employee contributions into one federal health insurance system that would cover all medical and health expenses. Opponents say that would get the federal government too much into medicine and health care. Supporters say such insurance is necessary for people to obtain proper coverage. Do you favor or oppose such a comprehensive federal health insurance program?"

COMPREHENSIVE FEDERAL HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN

	April 1974 %	January 1971 %
Favor	54	55
Oppose	28	30
Not Sure	18	15

In his work with trend data from 1935-1965 on social welfare issues, Schiltz found that

> Running through this 30-year period of legislative skirmishes was a consistent pattern of strong public support for the principle of government action to alleviate the high costs of medical care. This support pattern was modified by a substantial cleavage across class levels and by a small, but increasing, tendency for older Americans to support the principle more often than young citizens.[**]

The question that arises here is whether Americans are more or less inclined to support social welfare programs during a period of economic crunch or economic affluence. Though I have not looked into this question, the work of Schiltz indicates that trend data does not show any clear shift in support over 30 years. A general decline in support levels from one public welfare program to the next over these years could possibly indicate a down-trend while economic affluence was increasing. However, this down-trend can also be attributed to other causes. Schiltz's discussion of the influence of economic affluence on willingness to support social welfare programs is as follows:

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[*] *The Harris Survey*, June 10, 1974.

[**] Schiltz, p. 128.

> ...if one assumes the classic model of economic behavior, one could infer that an increase in risk-taking propensity was accompanied by an increase in distaste for programs designed to reduce economic risk, although, as has been discussed earlier, such a simplistic zero-sum model may not be in accord with reality.
>
> The second and third pieces of evidence are those introduced in Chapter 1 relating to the minimal fear of recession in the postwar period and to the steady increase in real income and perceived need. Taken together with the risk item above, these bits of evidence suggest quite strongly that for most Americans poverty has not been an especially salient issue.
>
> In the absence of a compelling and pervasive fear of a national economic catastrophe, and in a climate of generally expanding affluence, it would be reasonable to expect at least a moderate decline in enthusiasm for public welfare programs. Yet the most concrete indicator of such enthusiasm--support for welfare expenditures, as reported on table 6-1--has shown an increase with the passage of time, while most other indicators discussed above have at least suggested a decrease. In sum, the data available here do not allow us to ascertain the direction over time of a generalized attitude toward welfare.*

Comparison with earlier years of economic difficulties is further obscured by the apparently permanent change in the public's attitude toward government intervention in welfare that was established during the Depression years. Thus, we may not observe much change in this attitude, regardless of economic change, because of the universal acceptance of federal assistance to the needy. Schiltz has argued this well:

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*Ibid., p. 174.

> ...whether or not a return to pre-Depression values did take place, the substantial institutional achievements of the New Deal that were represented by the social welfare programs survived, and, by their very continued existence, were bound to change the terms of the argument. And the data in this study reveal that there is no question but that the American people accepted and continued to accept those social welfare programs. Nor, judging from the same data, is there any doubt that the privations of the early 1930's implanted in the American people at least one value change that continued to endure: They became permanently and apparently irreversibly convinced that the amelioration of poverty was the business of the Government.*

The observation of basic public support of federal action for social welfare has been made by other analysts. In a long discussion of "Public Reaction to Government Policies," Alfred Hero notes that over the three decades from about the middle 1930s to the middle 1960s

> Although specific federal domestic programs have varied in the support they have received, majorities of Americans have approved federal intervention in the national economy and federal action for social welfare. Most of the New Deal was welcomed by a majority of the public. The concepts of Medicare and Medicaid were endorsed by most citizens long before they became law. Likewise, before they were ever federally implemented, such programs as regulation and prohibition of child labor, old age pensions, social security, public works, slum clearance, urban renewal, low-cost housing, federal responsibility for full employment and unemployment compensation, aid to education, veterans' benefits, assistance to depressed areas, anti-poverty legislation have been favored by clear majorities of those venturing opinions.
>
> However, the numbers favoring such programs have been fewer when there was a question of increased taxes necessary for implementing them; even so, more have typically favored than opposed most such policies despite likely tax increases. Typically, whereas only minorities have supported U.S. foreign policy expenditures at prevailing or expanded levels--with

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*Ibid., p. 18. It is not clear from the three decades of data examined by Schiltz that the public has endorsed the principle of social insurance over means-test assistance. According to Schiltz: "The concept of 'need' is endemic in the data, which indicate a proclivity on the part of the public to support means-test programs with at least as much enthusiasm as social insurance programs." (p. 179)

> the exception of national defense--majorities have either actively approved of the magnitude of resources voted to most domestic programs, or have felt that that magnitude should be increased.*

This does not mean that on an ideological level Americans are in favor of "socialism." Hero points out that

> 'Socialism,' a 'socialist economy,' 'socialized medicine,' transformation of America into a 'welfare state,' and other 'radical' concepts have also received consistently heavier opposition than support. Only during the Depression have small majorities favored nationalization of utilities, banks, interstate transportation and other crucial industries. Majorities generally have felt such enterprises should remain under private ownership and control. Moreover, considerably more Americans have felt labor unions and their leaders have too much influence in the country and should be more strictly regulated than have felt similarly about 'business' and private enterprise. Thus, the general picture seems to be one of most citizens approving of the specific welfare and economic programs of their national government, but opposing sharp shifts toward general or abstract socialist principles.**

The ideological versus operational argument is very well taken in the work of Free and Cantril*** and examined in a recent book by Gerald Kent Hickel.**** I consider it and its broader implications of liberalism versus conservatism to be essential to an understanding of the mood of the majority of Americans. It would speak for the observation that what Americans do not seem to need now is a set ideology or "new" philosophy of ideas with which to operate or deal with problems. Many of the concepts which a philosophy might tend to impose on the public in a way which would ill-fit it are those for which large numbers of Americans already have a predilection pragmatically or toward which they have been moving over time.

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*"However, the number who supported aid to farmers declined from considerable majorities in the 1930's to less than half of those with opinions in the 1960's, a trend attributable primarily to the sharp reduction in the number of farmers." In John P. Robinson, Jerrold G. Rusk and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, the University of Michigan, 1968), pp. 33-34.

**Ibid., p. 35.

***Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans, A Study of Public Opinion (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

****Gerald Kent Hickel, Beyond the Polls (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Company, 1973).

Based on their definition of the best way to differentiate between liberals and conservatives--that is, by the "attitudes toward new uses of the power and resources of the Federal Government as the means to accomplish domestic social objectives"--Free and Cantril concluded that

> the majority of Americans remain conservative at the ideological level in the sense that they continue to accept the traditional American ideology, which advocates the curbing of Federal power. Yet, at the practical level of Governmental operations, there has been an apparently inexorable trend in liberal directions in the United States since the days of the New Deal.*

The responses to a series of six questions indicated to Free and Cantril a liberal or conservative orientation at the operational level of government programs and another five questions provided the liberal-conservative orientation at the ideological level. The findings showed that

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*Free and Cantril, pp. 5-6. A study of Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., "College Generations--from the 1930's to the 1960's," The Public Interest, No. 25 (Fall 1971), pp. 99-113 also shows that, measured by presidential choice, each succeeding generation of college graduates was more liberal than the one before, although within this linear progression was another age-related one which showed that as the graduate grew older, his views became more conservative or moderate. The net effect of this, according to the authors, was that even if, with age, the college generation (in this case the 1960s generation) became more moderate, "it, like earlier ones, is still likely to end up at a point further to the 'left' than its predecessors, and to the 'right' of its successors.

> ...while 65 percent of our sample were liberal on the Operational Spectrum, only 16 per cent were either completely or predominantly liberal on the Ideological Spectrum. Conversely, while only 14 per cent were conservative on the Operational Spectrum, one-half were in one or the other of the conservative categories on the Ideological Spectrum. This discrepancy between operational outlooks and ideological views is so marked as to be almost schizoid.*

IDEOLOGICAL AND OPERATIONAL SPECTRUMS

	Ideological Spectrum		Operational Spectrum	
Completely liberal	4%	16%	44%	65%
Predominantly liberal	12		21	
Middle of the road	34	34	21	21
Predominantly conservative	20	50	7	14
Completely conservative	30		7	
	100%		100%	

A dualism between ideologies and the desire for social welfare action was also found by Schiltz in examining public support for welfare over the period 1935-1965.**

> In summary, the following conflicting patterns emerge: overlapping support for welfare payments and for restrictive measures; simultaneous adherence to a work-incentive ideology and to support for welfare; absence of any clear correlations among support for restrictive measures, welfare support, and the ideological dimensions; and moderate class and age cleavages on support for expenditures, for restrictive measures, and the ideology. All these patterns suggest that the major tension in welfare attitudes is located not between population groups but within the individual himself.
>
> On the one hand, the individual is moved to generosity by his perception of the endurance and extent of poverty. He is willing to charge his government with the task of alleviating genuine want wherever it exists, and he is willing to pay

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*Ibid., pp. 32-33.

**Schiltz, p. 161.

> increased taxes to underwrite such a program. On the other hand, he is imbued with the tradition of economic incentive and its relationship to self-reliance; and he is suspicious and even resentful of persons who, unlike himself, are in need. He quickly discredits the integrity of welfare recipients and enthusiastically supports policies that not only control welfare-cheating but make the receipt of welfare difficult and embarrassing.
>
> There have been no systematic attempts to explore this dualism, and such an investigation is beyond the scope of the present research. But whatever the underlying mechanism, one thing seems quite clear: The bark of the average American is worse than his bite; and he is willing to support a welfare program if assured that it will indeed be directed at the needy.

Who are the liberals? According to the measurement used by Free and Cantril, the liberals were strongest among those whom we have come to consider the "hard-hat," conservative working class and weakest among the upper-level, higher-income and college-educated. Differences were noted between the intensity of group cleavages and among operational and ideological liberals. On the operational level, three-fourths of those with a grade-school education were liberal compared to one-half of the college-educated; three-fourths of the poor and only one-half of those with incomes of $10,000 or over were found to be liberal; blacks were 90 percent liberal; three-fourths of the blue-collar workers were liberal compared to 54 percent of the persons in the professional and business category and 58 percent of the farmers. Almost three-fourths of those who identified themselves as "working class" members (and this identification stretched itself surprisingly up through the higher income level as did "middle class" reach down to the blue-collar level)* were found to be liberal as compared with 57 percent of those who called themselves "middle class" and only 40 percent of the self-reported "propertied class."

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*In Free and Cantril self-reported class identification in 1964 was as follows: propertied class--5 percent; middle class--37 percent; working class--53 percent. In the National Opinion Research Center General Social Surveys for the years 1972-1974, the self-reported class response for each year for the middle and working classes was about 45 percent each.

Although one-half of the sample was found to be conservative on the ideological level, the general weight of the 16 percent liberalism within this spectrum lay on the same side as the operational level, that is, among the working class, poor, grade-school educated and the blacks. The discrepancy between the strong liberal and strong conservative tendencies of the operational and ideological levels created, however, according to the authors, a split in the feelings of large numbers of persons, particularly the very poor and the grade-school educated. Blacks and Jews were two groups that remained strongly more liberal on both levels. This split was mentioned earlier in the work of Schiltz and Hero and is not untypical of public responses to a wide variety of issues. Free and Cantril conclude:

> This conflict is resolved in a typically pragmatic American fashion: the practical is given precedence over the theoretical. At the operational level of government, the great majority of Americans are more concerned about practical problems than they are about abstract conceptions on the ideological level. They want government to work.*

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*Free and Cantril, p. 51.

II. ATTITUDES TOWARD WELFARE, POVERTY AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

The dualism in the public's attitude toward social welfare has not been dealt with adequately by social researchers working within the last decade. Often the authors of studies examining public opinion on welfare have concluded that because the public holds certain perjorative attitudes about the causes of poverty, welfare programs and the recipients of welfare, it is "anti-welfare." One method used by the analyst to determine welfare attitudes is the creation of an "anti-welfare" index from items concerning welfare cheating, the characteristics and work motivations of recipients and the causes of poverty.* This approach has not proved itself, however, to be broad enough nor adequate enough to begin to penetrate the welter of deep and concurrent feelings evoked in the American public by the appearance of poverty, at least since the days of the New Deal. It also may fail to take into account the trend data on attitudes toward help for the needy, the old, the ill and the indigent and the consistent pragmatic support over four decades for social welfare programs.

In this section I would like to try to unravel some of these discrepancies and look at the various attitudes, issue by issue. The complexity and inconsistency of public attitudes toward social welfare, amounting at times to paradox, is well-known and has been documented in the previous chapter. The tool of public opinion is, at best, incomplete, and the criss-cross of unknowns and unknowables at any given time too elusive for an analyst ever to understand the full nature of causes. The warning has been well-sounded by the careful and discerning analyst Michael E. Schiltz:

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*One example by an excellent analyst which may be said to typify this approach is the "anti-welfare" index created by Joe R. Feagin from a series of items on "views of welfare." (Joe R. Feagin, Socio-Religious Variation in Poverty and Welfare Attitudes, undated reprint of a paper based on a nationwide survey taken for Feagin in the spring of 1969 by the Opinion Research Corporation. The survey was conducted under the auspices of NIMH research grant MH 15917 Applied Research Grants Program.)

> The general public rarely, if ever, is fully enough informed to react logically to proposals or alternatives that involve a complex web of arguments. Details of eligibility and funding and national fiscal implications are, most of the time, beyond the range of the materials through which the average citizen reacts to public issues.
>
> This point is not made to deprecate the American public or the democratic process. That process has survived nearly 2 centuries of crises in an impressive manner that defies both expectation and analysis. And time and time again in periods of stress the American electorate has made what history eventually came to regard as a wise and prudent choice. The point is made rather to place the responsibility for public opinion analysis where it belongs: on survey research analysts and elected public officials, who must learn to read beyond superficial poll data to discover the core of public sentiment and the tolerable limits of public policy....
>
> A testing of public opinion on any complex issue must probe not only the public's reaction to a simplistically stated policy, but also the degree to which the public will accept various alternative solutions to the problem. It must attempt to learn whether there is a consensus as to purpose that transcends specific proposals, and what is the limit of that consensus. And it must attempt to gauge the degree to which public misunderstanding, or partial understanding, obscures its own best reaction to the proposal.*

With the hope of bringing further understanding of the consensus as to purpose, I have undertaken the examination of issues in the section that follows.

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*Schiltz, pp. 181-182.

The Most Important Problem

Poverty has not appeared to be a particularly salient issue to Americans over the past thirty years. In the regularly-asked poll questions on the most important problem and on government spending, reactions to poverty and welfare have been weak compared to the response to numerous other issues. Poverty could be considered a "background" problem, one that does not command the immediate attention, anxiety and response given to issues that are at the time of dominant interest in the lives of Americans. But although its concern is relatively weak, the public does not feel antagonistic toward grappling with social welfare and poverty problems. This point was underlined in the previous section dealing with overall attitudes toward domestic reform. A Gallup poll of November 1974 reinforces the liberal position of the public on these particular issues. Prior to election day in 1974, a nationwide sample of 1,501 persons at 350 sampling places were asked:

> Suppose that on Election Day, November 5, you could vote on key issues as well as candidates. Please tell me how you would vote on each of these 14 propositions.

	PERCENT FOR	AGAINST
Busing	32	68
Death penalty	63	37
Unconditional amnesty	41	59
Legalized marijuana use	26	74
Diplomatic relations with Cuba	63	37
Federal social program cuts	34	66
Defense spending cuts	56	44
Equal Rights amendment	79	21
Gun registration	71	29
Wage-price controls	62	38
Campaign financing	72	28
Aid to parochial schools	52	48
Legalized abortions	52	48
5% surtax	46	54

This latest line-up of positions on selected issues has been supported consistently in numerous other polls in recent years. Far from being incompatible, these positions have their own inherent logic to the average American as he reacts to a multitude of factors. These issues, especially as related to the poor and near-poor, will be considered in the next section.

Since 1936, to the majority of Americans the overwhelmingly important problems facing the country have been first, war, threat of war, fear of war and keeping the peace, and secondly, inflation and high cost of living. The bar charts below trace the top five problems and the naming of poverty and welfare from 1947 to the present, during which time Gallup asked this question of the American public: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?" Out of 48 times this question was asked during this period, "war" and "threat of war" was named 26 times as the most important issue and 31 times as one of the three most important problems of the time. In addition, "keeping the peace" was considered the top problem 4 times and one of the three most important issues 6 times; "international problems" was the top issue 2 times and one of the three top issues 8 times. As a group, this was, therefore, the most important problem 32 times and one of the top three 45 times.

Second only to war was the issue of inflation and high cost of living. This was named the top problem 8 times and one of the most important three 27 times. The fear of war and anxiety about inflation together occupied the top position in the concerns of Americans 40 times out of the 48 the question was asked and were among the top three problems 72 times. The only other issue that occupied the top position for any length of time was racial problems (top problem: 5 times; top three: 17 times from 1956 to 1957 and from 1963 to 1969). All other issues were what might be called "perturbations"; that is, they were thrust to the forefront for a period of time in response to current events and then lost national importance. The only exception might be crime, which although it has been generally superseded nationally by issues of momentary prominence, has become nonetheless an increasingly anxiety-ridden problem in the community over the last decade.

The work of Hadley Cantril, Lloyd A. Free, William Watts, Albert H. Cantril and Charles W. Roll, Jr. measuring national and personal hopes and fears underscores the priorities given to these issues.* The tables that follow show the national response to four open-ended questions asked in 1959, 1964, 1971, 1972 and 1974 about future hopes and fears.**

National Hopes and Fears

> "What are your wishes and hopes for the future of the United States? If you picture the future of the U.S. in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, about ten years from now?"
>
> "And what about your fears and worries for the future of our country? If you picture the future of the U.S. in the worst possible light, how would things look about ten years from now?"

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[*] See the references mentioned in the previous chapter.

[**] Watts and Free, eds., State of the Nation, pp. 257-260 and Watts and Free, State of the Nation 1974, pp. 266-272. The coding and the order of the tables was substantially different in State of the Nation 1974 from the earlier work. For the sake of easier comparison, I have kept the tables of the earlier years intact and indicated the changes in 1974.

Personal Hopes and Fears

> "All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like then if you are to be happy?"
>
> "Taking the othe side of the picture, what are your fears and worries for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the worst possible light, what would your life look like then?"

Watts and Free summed up the apparent national concerns of Americans in mid-1972 as follows:

> ...even when the context was explicitly national, the horizons of the people in viewing their country's situation were distinctly limited. Unless prodded by interviewers, only small minorities of Americans in mid-1972 seemed preoccupied with most of the major problems that confronted the nation. Significantly, our survey failed to uncover any topic of intensely concentrated concern among Americans, with the possible exception of the war/peace theme.*

Watts and Free found a similar response, but with an intensification of concern about the country, when they questioned the public in 1974. They also found an American public which was, in a very real sense, liberal and ready to support necessary domestic programs, despite its deepened loss of confidence in the running of governmental institutions. The impact of inflation and recession, which sharpened between the Spring of 1974 and early 1975, on the hopes and fears of Americans has not yet been measured, but the effect of economic woes has always been profound and powerful.

> ...Public concern for international and defense matters was much lower than for most domestic problems; and international and defense items were given the very lowest public spending priority....

---

*Watts and Free, eds., State of the Nation, p. 257.

> In the domestic arena, the public indicated substantial willingness to spend tax money to alleviate (and hopefully solve) many of the domestic problems facing this country. Even when reminded that such outlays eventually come out of their own and other taxpayers' pockets, our citizens lean toward increasing spending on those issues they are concerned or worried about. And this feeling emerged even though...the public expressed a distinct loss of confidence in the efficacy of the Federal Government institutions that handle this spending. In this sense the great majority of the public is what might be called, in a short-hand but very realistic sense, liberal...
>
> ...when...we probed deeply into the items Americans mentioned as personal hopes and fears, we found that significantly breakthroughs had occurred in the distinction they normally drew between their own situations and the state of the nation. National, political, social, and economic problems had infiltrated into their personal preoccupations to an unprecedented degree--particularly concerns about such matters as inflation, Watergate and all it stood for, and even the danger of political instability. There was a prevailing modd of uncertainty and skepticism.[*]

---

[*] William Watts and Lloyd A. Free, State of the Nation 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Associates, 1974), pp. 297, 298 and 301.

NATIONAL HOPES[*]
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
PEACE	48	51	51	56	27
EMPLOYMENT	13	15	16	17	10
LAW AND ORDER	--	--	11	14	11
ECONOMIC STABILITY; NO INFLATION	12	5	18	13	24
SOLUTION OF POLLUTION PROBLEMS	--	--	10	12	5
NATIONAL UNITY AND POLITICAL STABILITY (INTERNAL PEACE AND ORDER; ABSENCE OF UNREST, TENSIONS, ANTAGONISMS)	--	9	15	11	15
IMPROVED STANDARD OF LIVING; GREATER NATIONAL PROSPERITY	20	28	11	10	11
SOCIAL JUSTICE (GREATER EQUALITY FOR ALL ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION)	--	--	--	8	n.a.
SOLUTION OF DRUG PROBLEM	--	--	6	7	n.a.
EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT; COMPETENT LEADERSHIP	--	--	--	6	11
EDUCATION	--	--	--	6	6
HONEST GOVERNMENT	--	--	--	5	25
ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE	14	15	10	5	n.a.
PUBLIC MORALITY (ETHICAL STANDARDS, RELIGION)	7	10	8	5	10
BETTER WORLD (MORE INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION)	17	6	7	5	n.a.

NATIONAL FEARS
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
WAR (ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR WAR)	64	50	30	35	24
LACK OF LAW AND ORDER	--	5	11	16	13
ECONOMIC INSTABILITY; INFLATION; RECESSION	18	13	17	13	28
NATIONAL DISUNITY AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY (UNREST, TENSIONS, ANTAGONISMS, CIVIL WAR)	--	8	26	13	12
DRUG PROBLEM	--	--	7	9	n.a.
COMMUNISM	12	29	12	8	8
POLLUTION	--	--	9	8	6
LACK OF PUBLIC MORALITY (ETHICALLY, RELIGIOUSLY)	--	5	6	6	6
LOSS OF DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM; TOTALITARIANISM	--	5	5	5	n.a.
UNEMPLOYMENT	7	6	7	5	n.a.
POPULATION GROWTH	--	--	--	5	n.a.
THREAT, AGGRESSION, DOMINATION BY A COMMUNIST POWER	--	--	--	5	5

---

[*] A dash (--) on each of these four tables indicates mention by less than 5 percent of the sample. A shift of 4 percentage points between studies is considered statistically significant.

PERSONAL HOPES
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
PEACE IN THE WORLD; NO WARS...............	9	17	19	32	16
BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING.................	38	40	27	29	29
GOOD HEALTH FOR SELF......................	40	29	29	27	28
ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN (OPPORTUNITIES, ESPECIALLY EDUCATION; SUCCESS; HAPPINESS)...........................	29	35	17	23	24
HAPPY FAMILY LIFE.........................	18	18	14	18	15
OWN HOUSE OR LIVE IN BETTER ONE...........	24	12	11	12	11
GOOD HEALTH FOR FAMILY....................	16	25	13	12	11
GOOD JOB; CONGENIAL WORK..................	7	9	6	10	11
WEALTH....................................	--	5	7	8	8
LEISURE TIME; RECREATION; TRAVEL..........	11	5	6	8	9
PEACE OF MIND; EMOTIONAL STABILITY AND MATURITY.................................	5	9	8	7	9
ECONOMIC STABILITY IN GENERAL; NO INFLATION	--	--	6	7	15
SAFETY FROM CRIME.........................	--	--	--	7	6
EMPLOYMENT................................	5	8	6	6	6
SOCIAL JUSTICE (GREATER EQUALITY, ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION)................	--	--	--	6	7
HAPPY OLD AGE.............................	10	8	6	6	8
SELF-IMPROVEMENT OR DEVELOPMENT...........	--	--	--	5	5
CHRISTIAN REVIVAL.........................	--	--	--	5	5

PERSONAL FEARS
(PERCENTAGES)

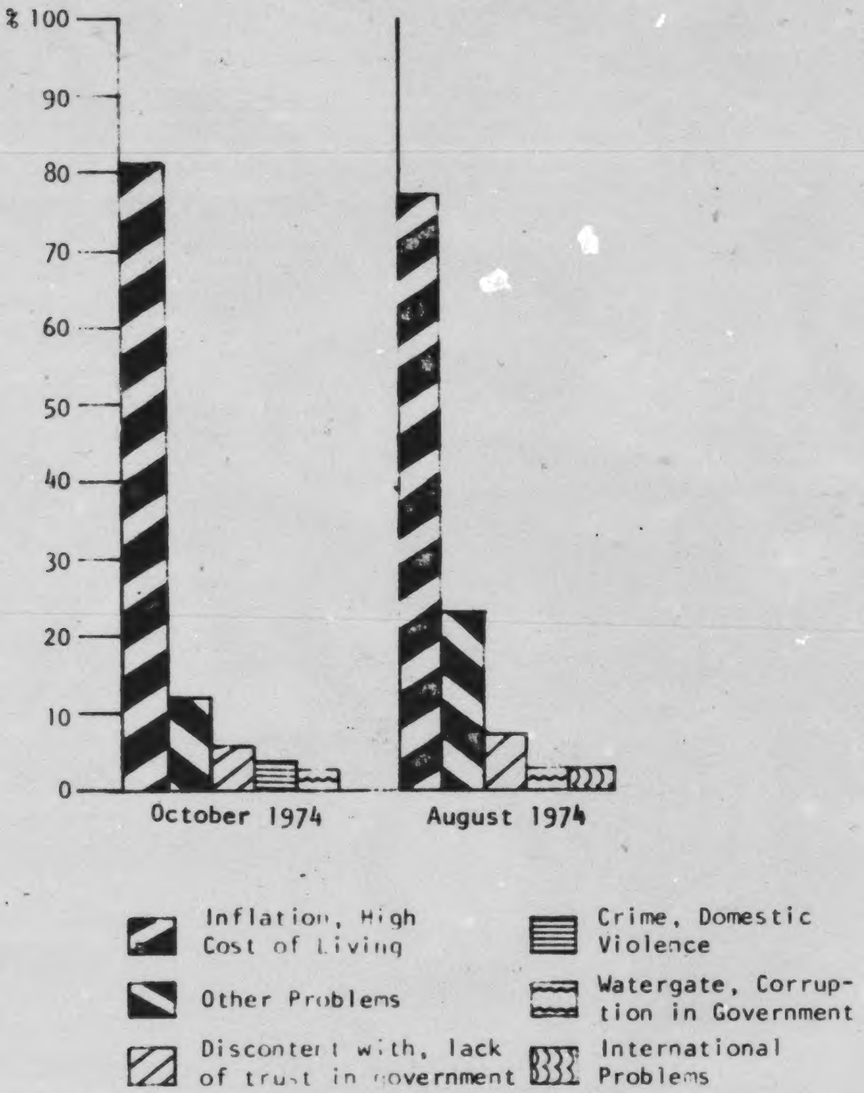
	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
WAR.......................................	21	29	17	28	18
ILL HEALTH FOR SELF.......................	40	25	28	21	25
LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING..................	23	19	18	18	16
ILL HEALTH FOR FAMILY.....................	25	27	16	12	12
UNEMPLOYMENT..............................	10	14	13	10	12
ECONOMIC INSTABILITY IN GENERAL; INFLATION	--	--	11	9	26
DRUG PROBLEM IN FAMILY....................	--	--	7	9	5
INADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES OR UNHAPPINESS FOR CHILDREN..............................	12	10	8	8	10
CRIME.....................................	--	--	5	8	9
POLLUTION.................................	--	--	7	6	n.a.
POLITICAL INSTABILITY (DISSENSION, UNREST, TURMOIL).................................	--	--	5	5	6
SOCIAL DECAY (SPIRITUAL, ETHICAL, RELIGIOUS)...............................	--	--	--	5	9

Against the salient issues--and considering how the public reacts to current events--the problems of poverty and welfare have created far less impact. In the bar charts below, I have included poverty and welfare whenever they occurred anywhere on the list of most important problems. In some instances they were coded separately, one response as poverty and another as welfare; in other lists they were coded together as one response. Above each bar for poverty and welfare is indicated the ranking of these issues on the list of the most important problems.

Poverty and welfare were named 18 times among the most imporant problems of the day. It is quite possible that some of the lists do not specically include all problems mentioned (for example, the category "other problems" might be a catch-all for numerous responses, possibly including poverty and welfare), so the occurrence of these issues on the lists is likely to be the minimum number of times.

THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM
JULY 1947--OCTOBER 1974*
GALLUP POLLS

"What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?"



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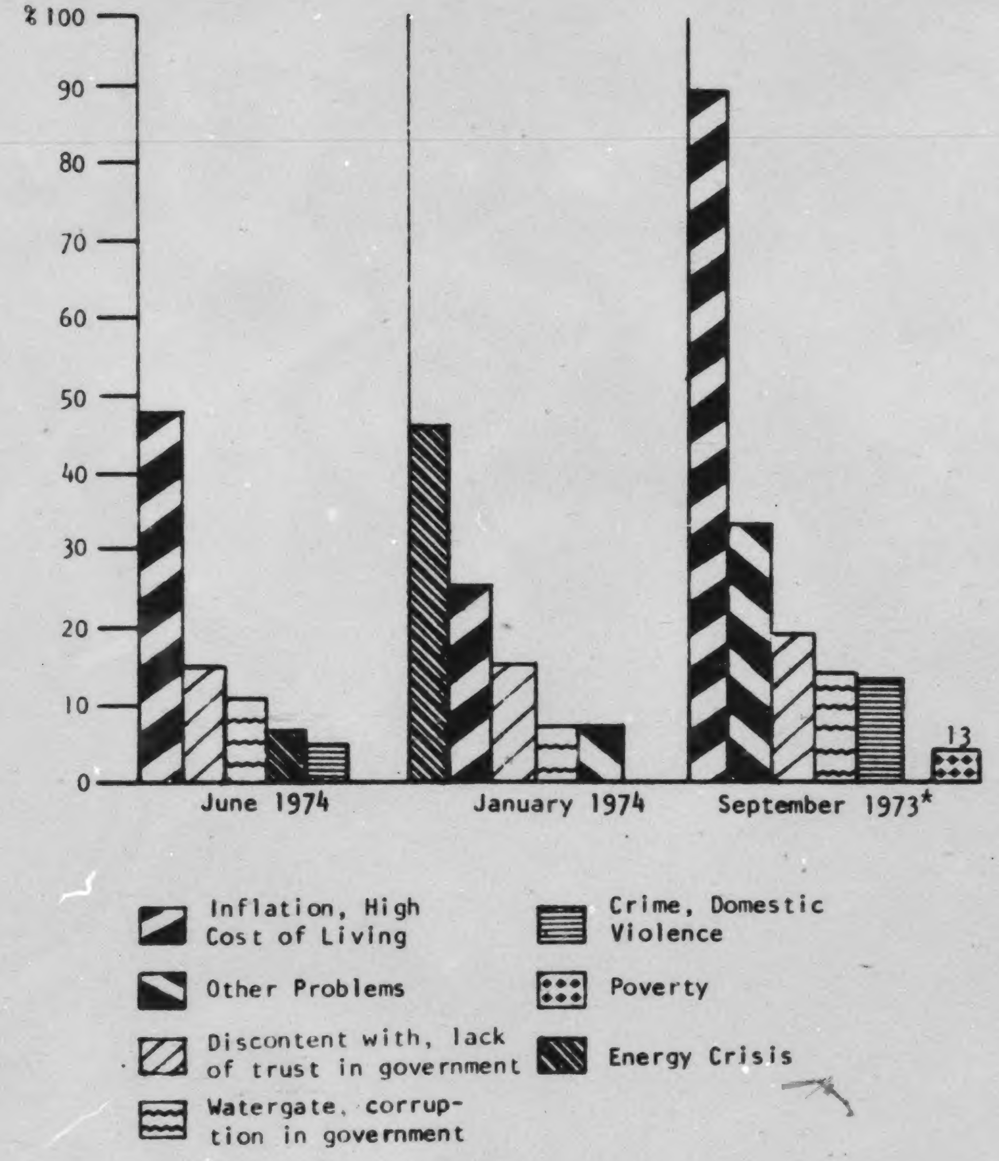
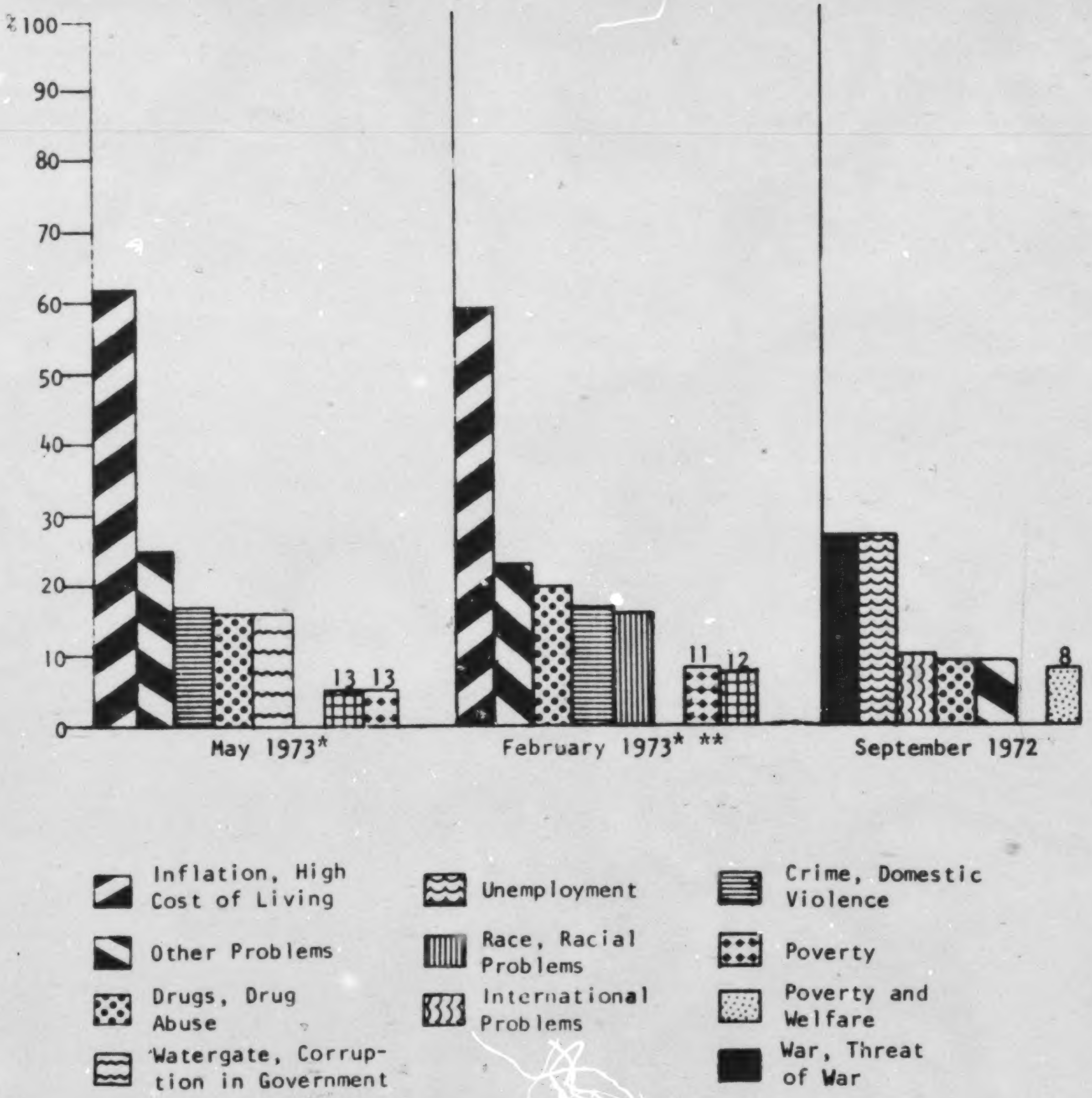
*The numbers above the bars for poverty and welfare indicate the ranking of these issues on the most important problem list.

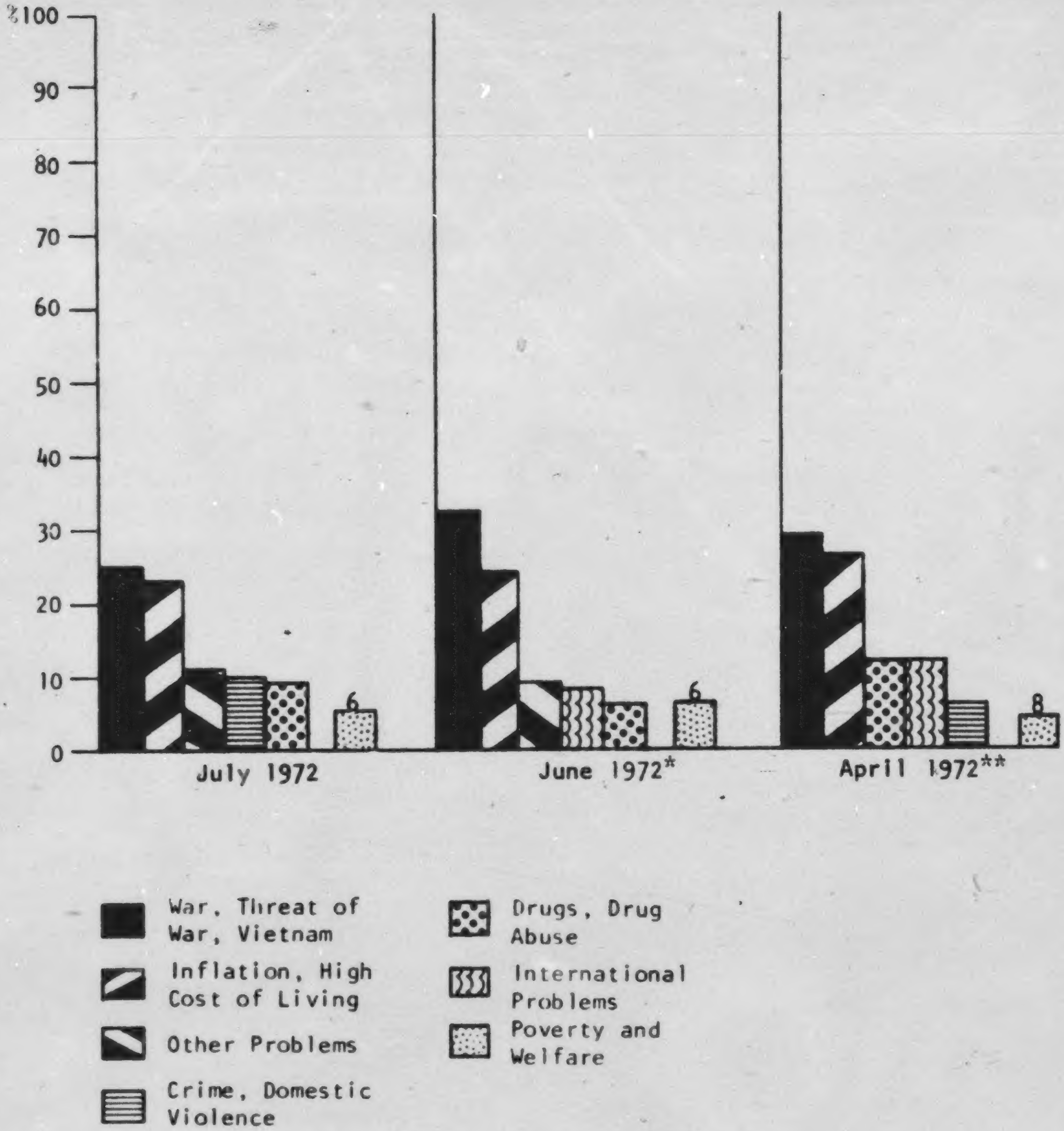


*The percentages indicate the combined responses to the following questions: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?" and "What do you think is the NEXT most important problem facing this country today?"



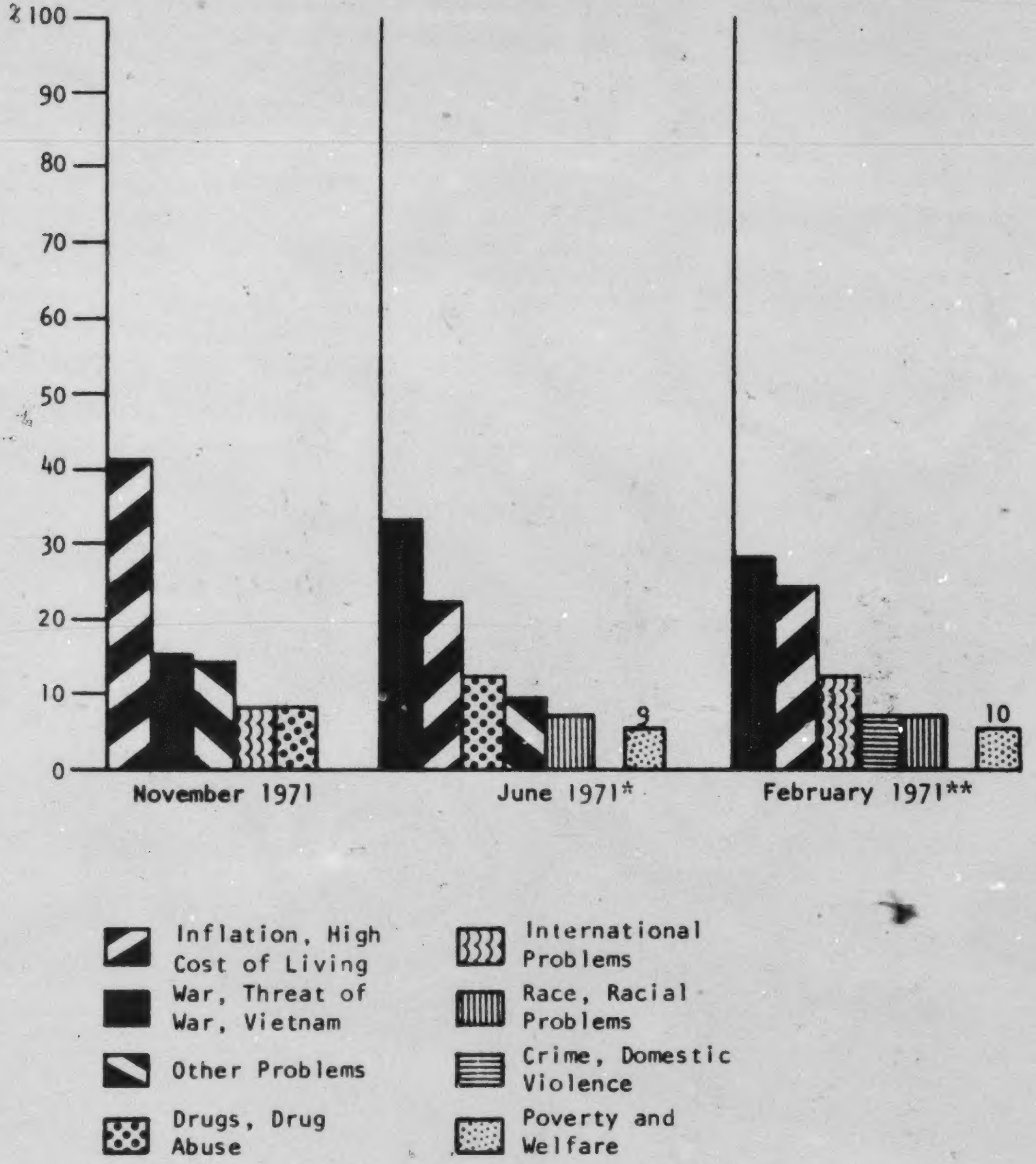
*The results indicate the combined responses to the following questions: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?" and "What do you think is the NEXT most important problem facing this country today?"

**"Unemployment" and Race Relations" also polled 16%.



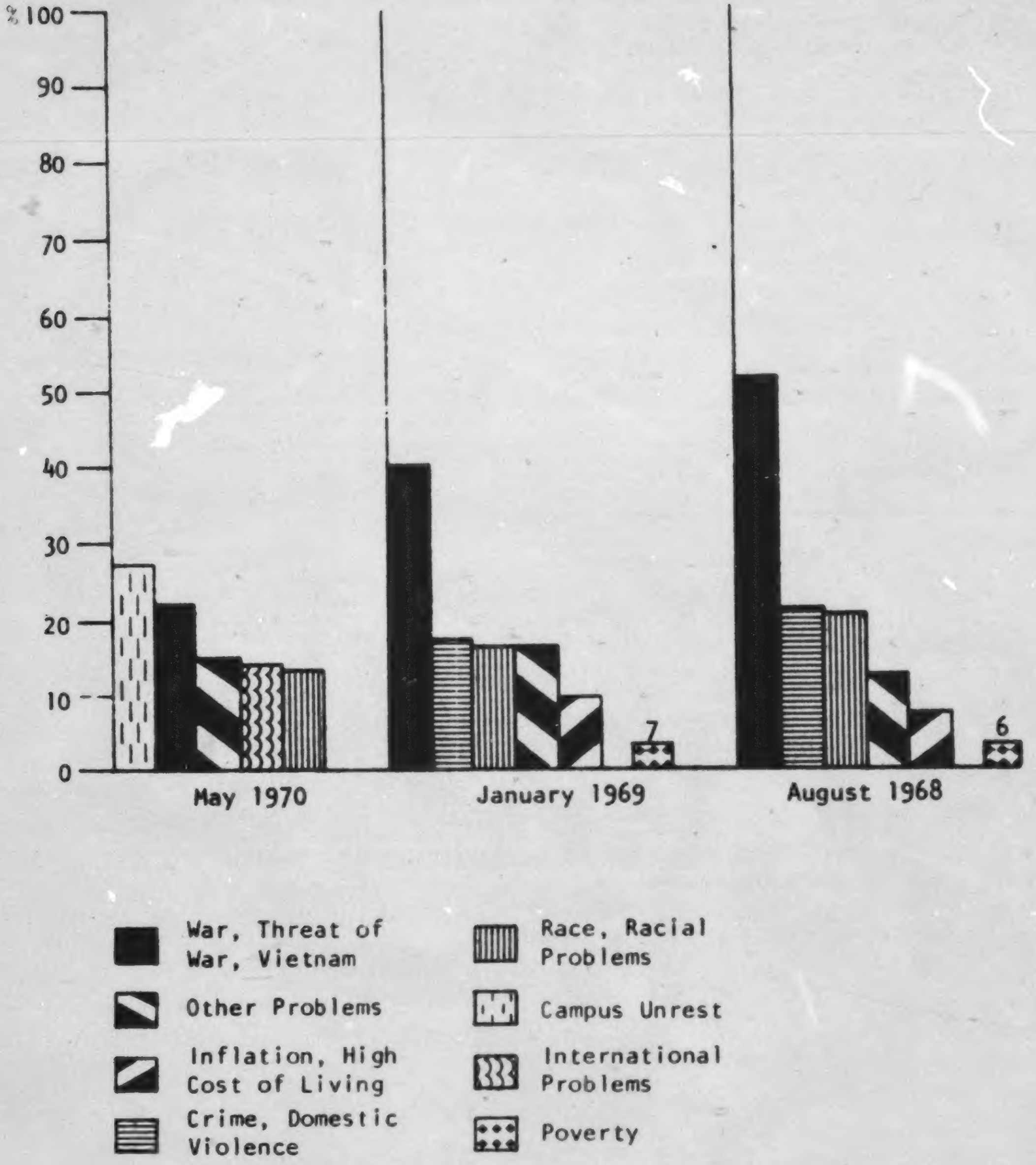
*"Crime" and "Lawlessness" also polled 6%.

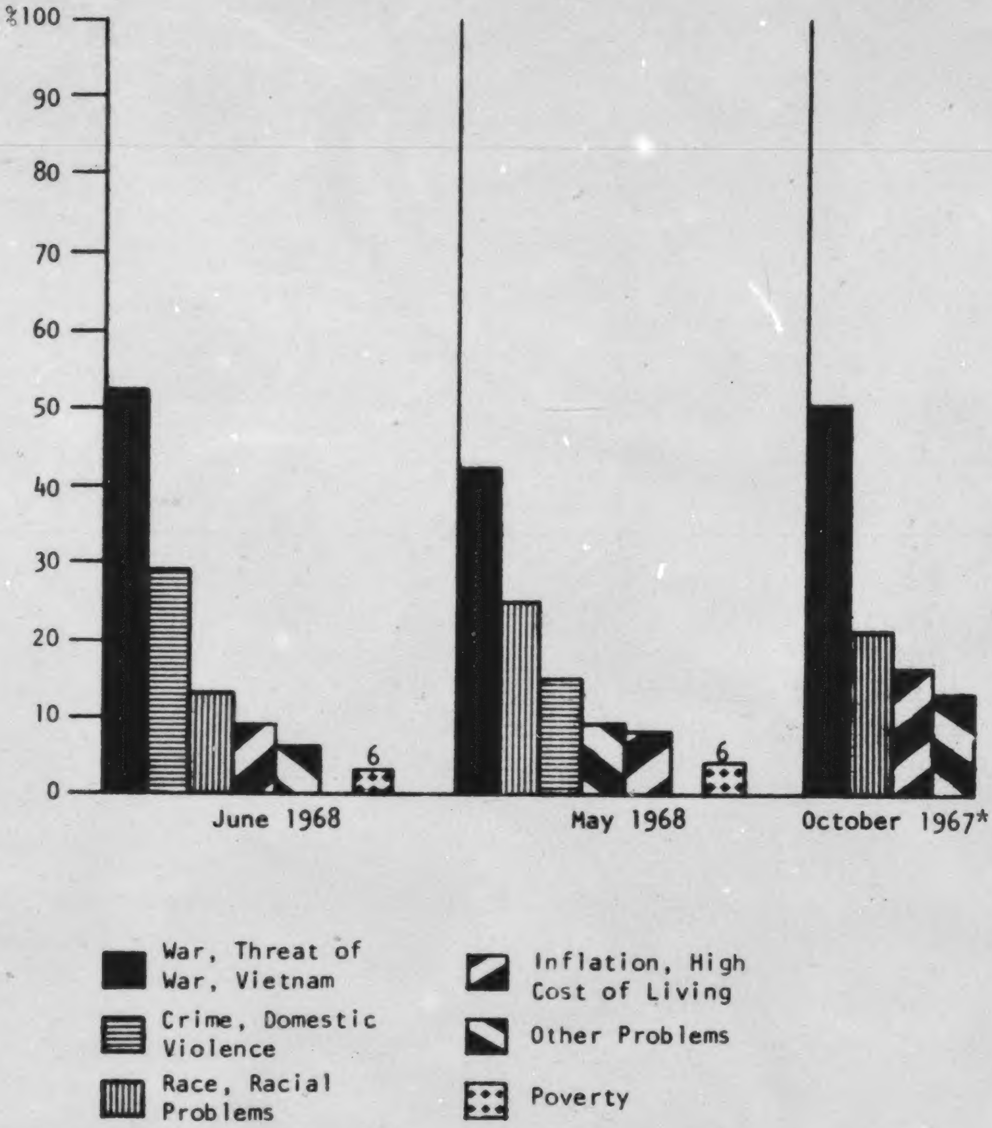
**"Pollution, the Environment" and "Miscellaneous, Others," also polled 6%.



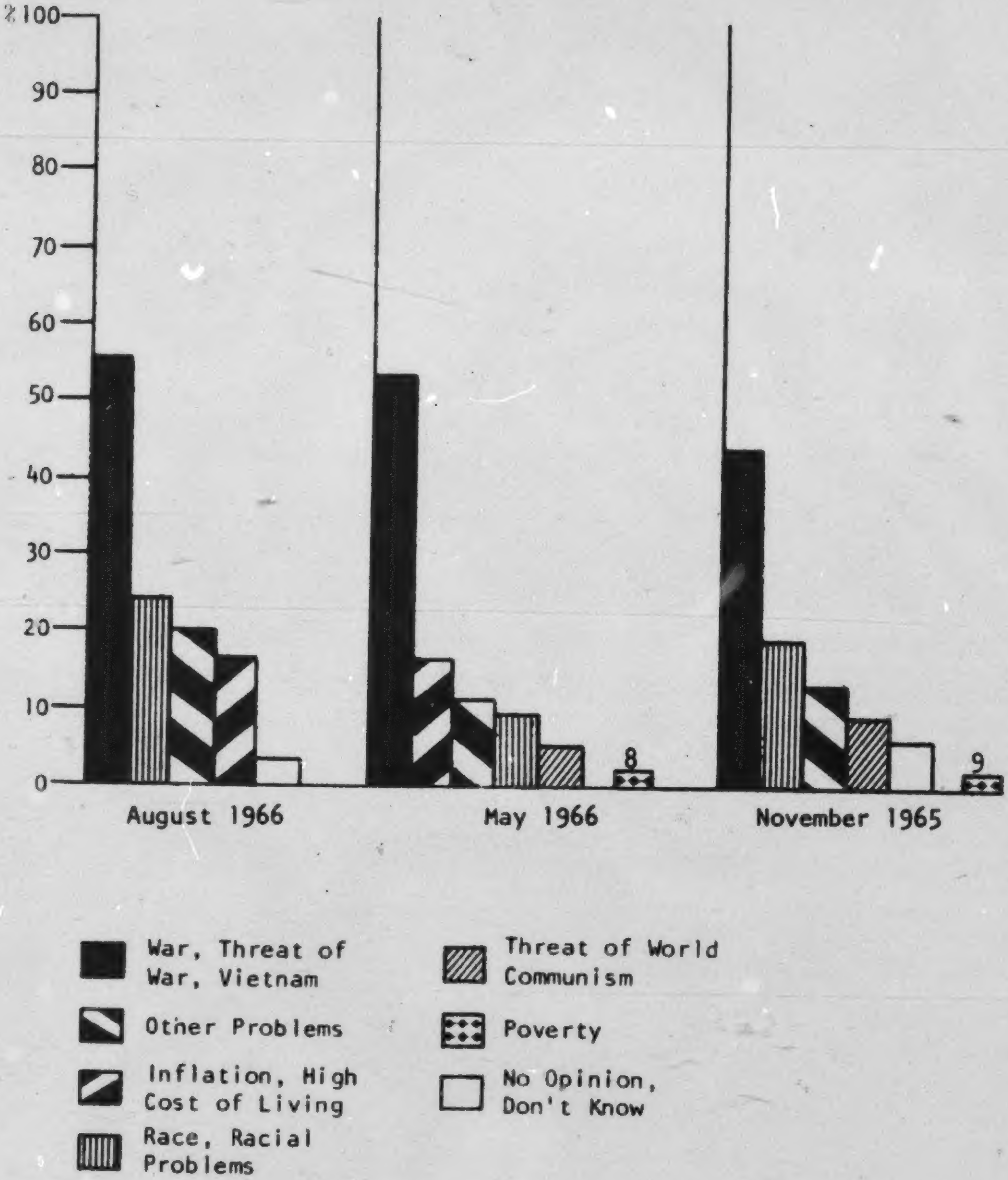
*"Crime, Lawlessness" and "International Problems, Other Than Vietnam" also polled 7%.

**"Pollution and Ecology" also polled 7%.


% 100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
7
6
May 1970
January 1969
August 1968
War, Threat of War, Vietnam
Other Problems
Inflation, High Cost of Living
Crime, Domestic Violence
Race, Racial Problems
Campus Unrest
International Problems
Poverty



*"Other Problems" includes "No Opinion."


% 100
90
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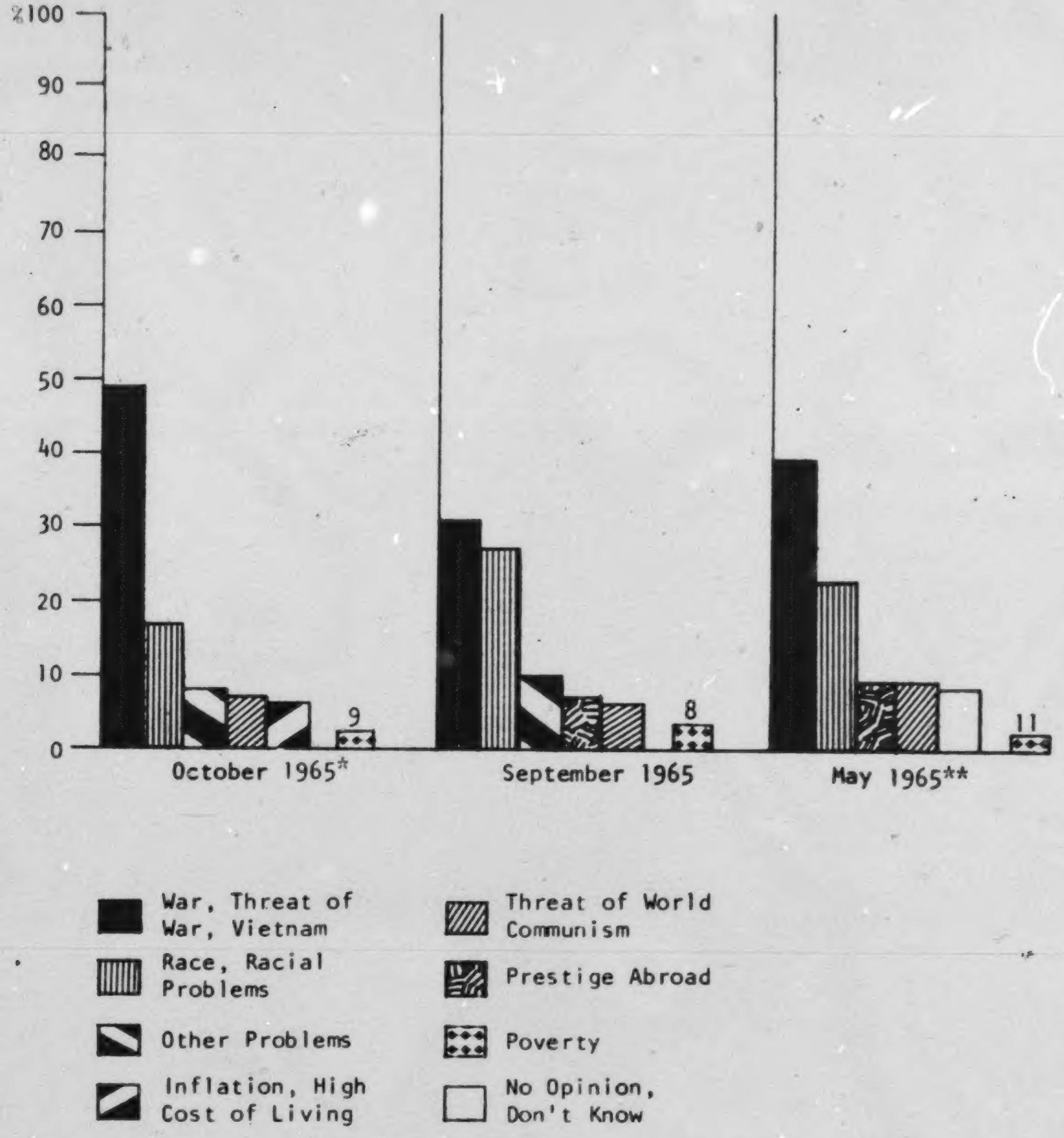
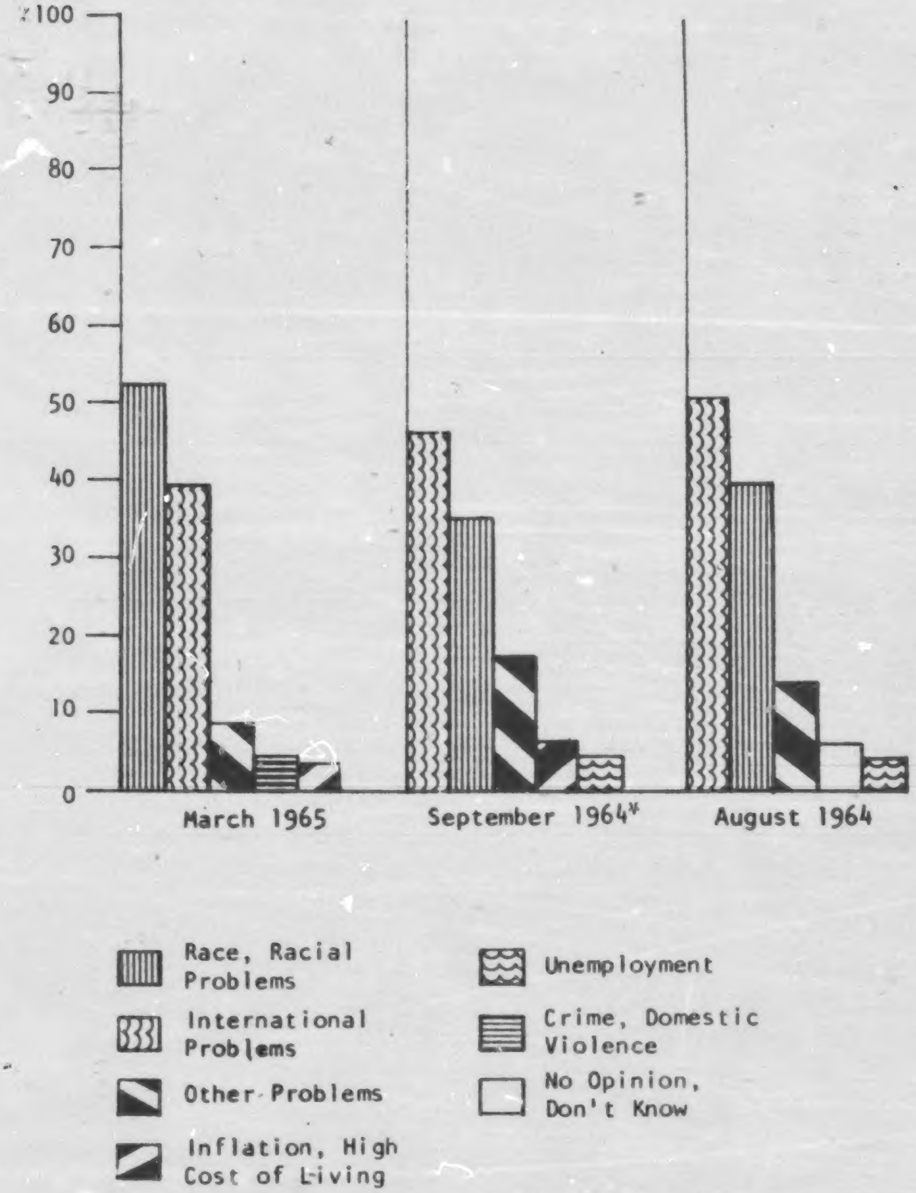
0
8
9
August 1966
May 1966
November 1965
War, Threat of War, Vietnam
Other Problems
Inflation, High Cost of Living
Race, Racial Problems
Threat of World Communism
Poverty
No Opinion, Don't Know

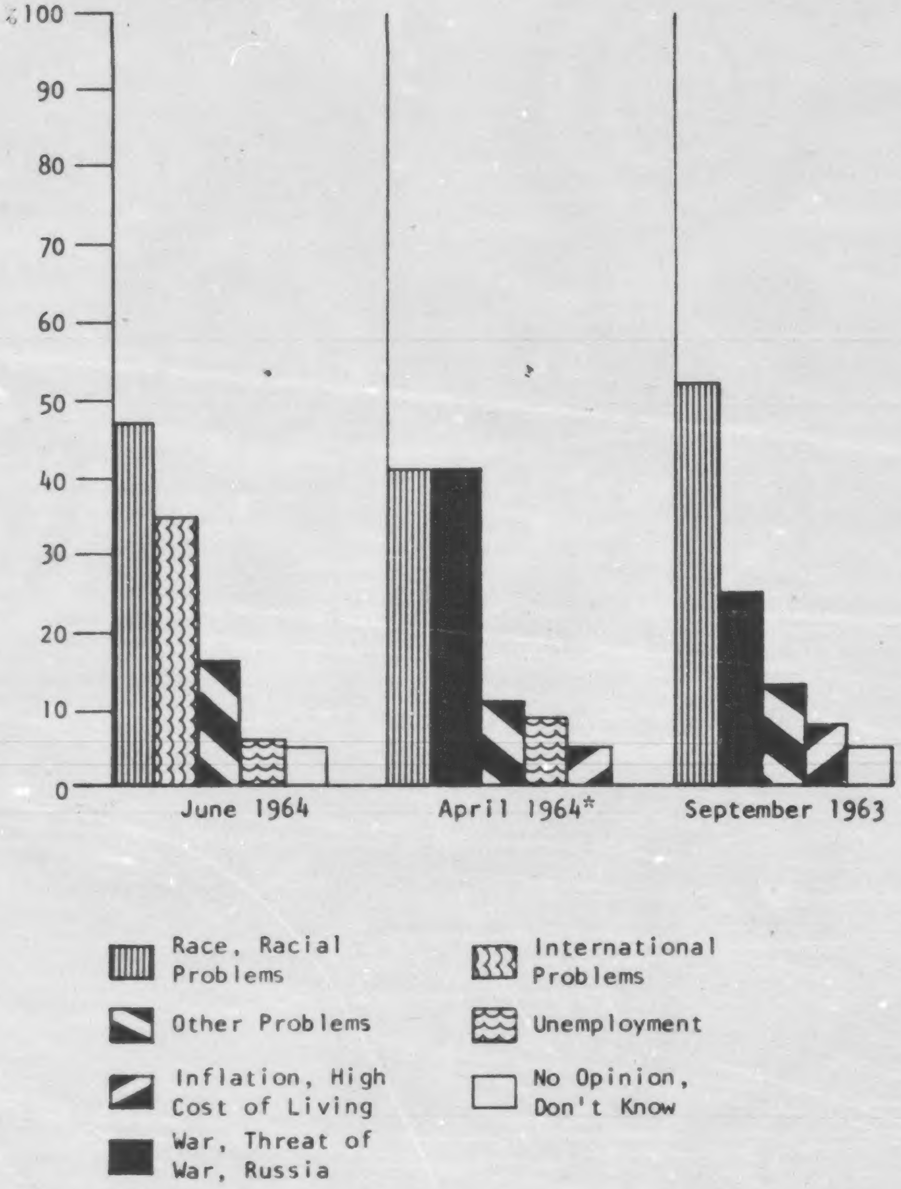


*"U.S. Prestige Abroad" also polled 6%.

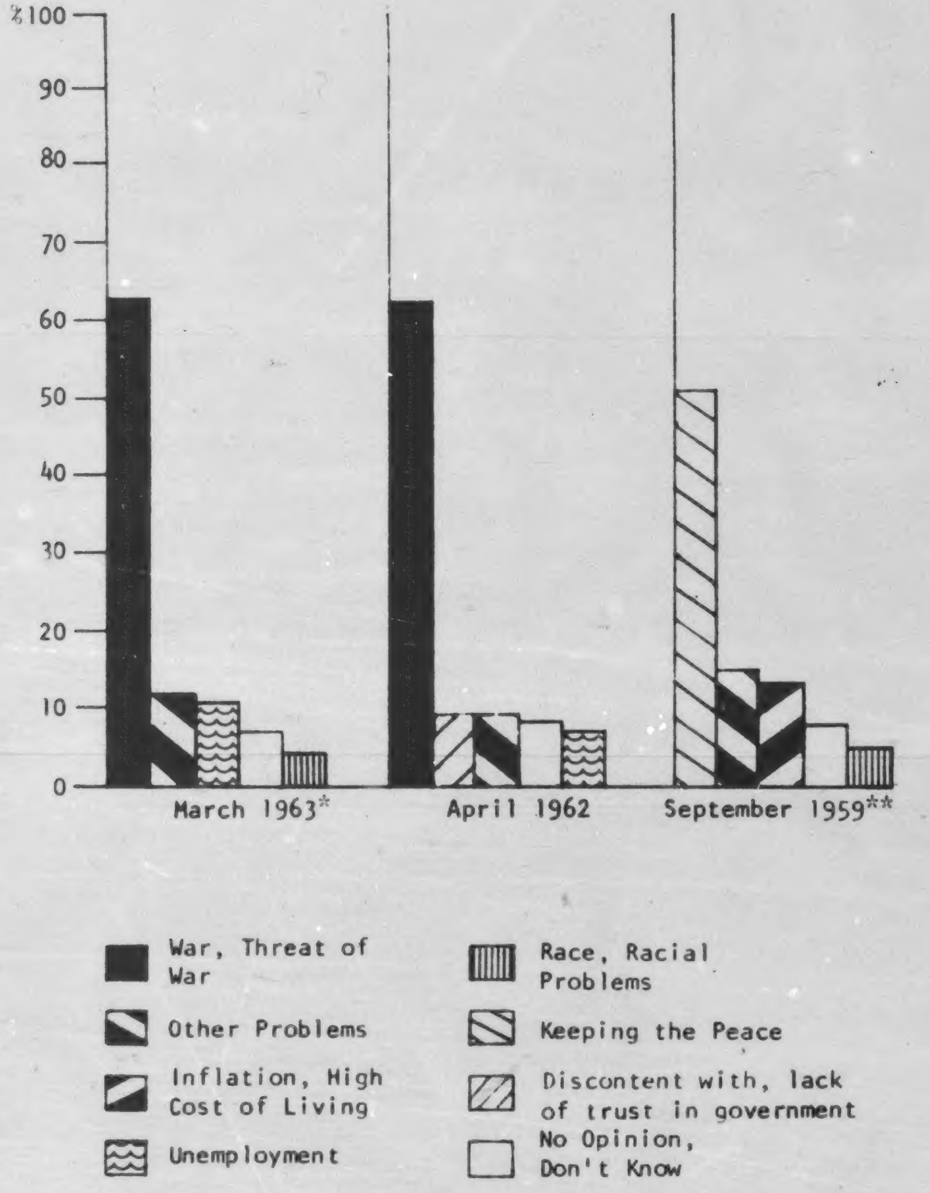
**"No Opinion" response also includes "Others."



*"Too Much Government Control" also polled 4%.

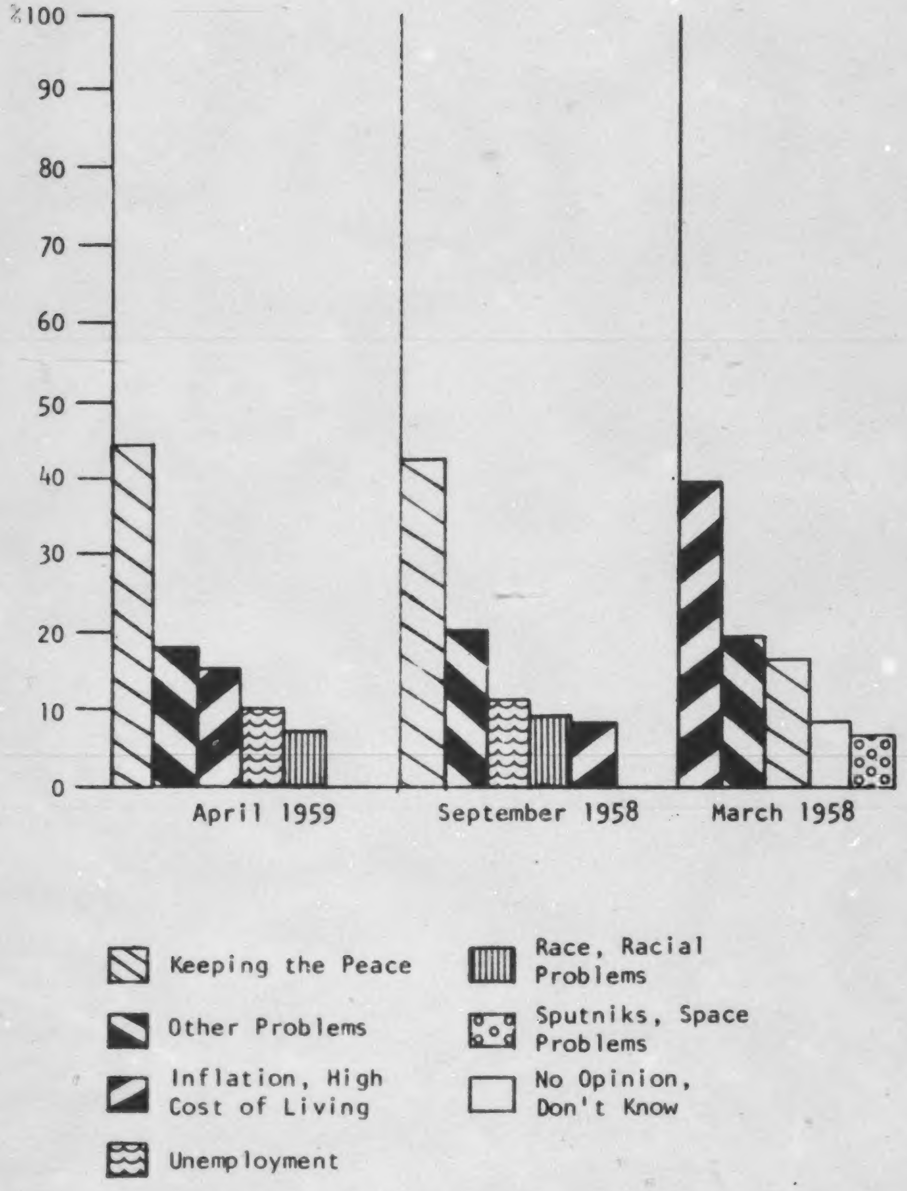


*"Don't Know" also polled 5%.



*The response "War, Threat of War" includes the responses "Cuba, Castro"--24% and "Other International Problems, Berlin, Laos"--39%.
"Prices" and "High Cost of Living" also polled 4%.

**"Union Strikes and Problems" also polled 5%.


%100
90
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70
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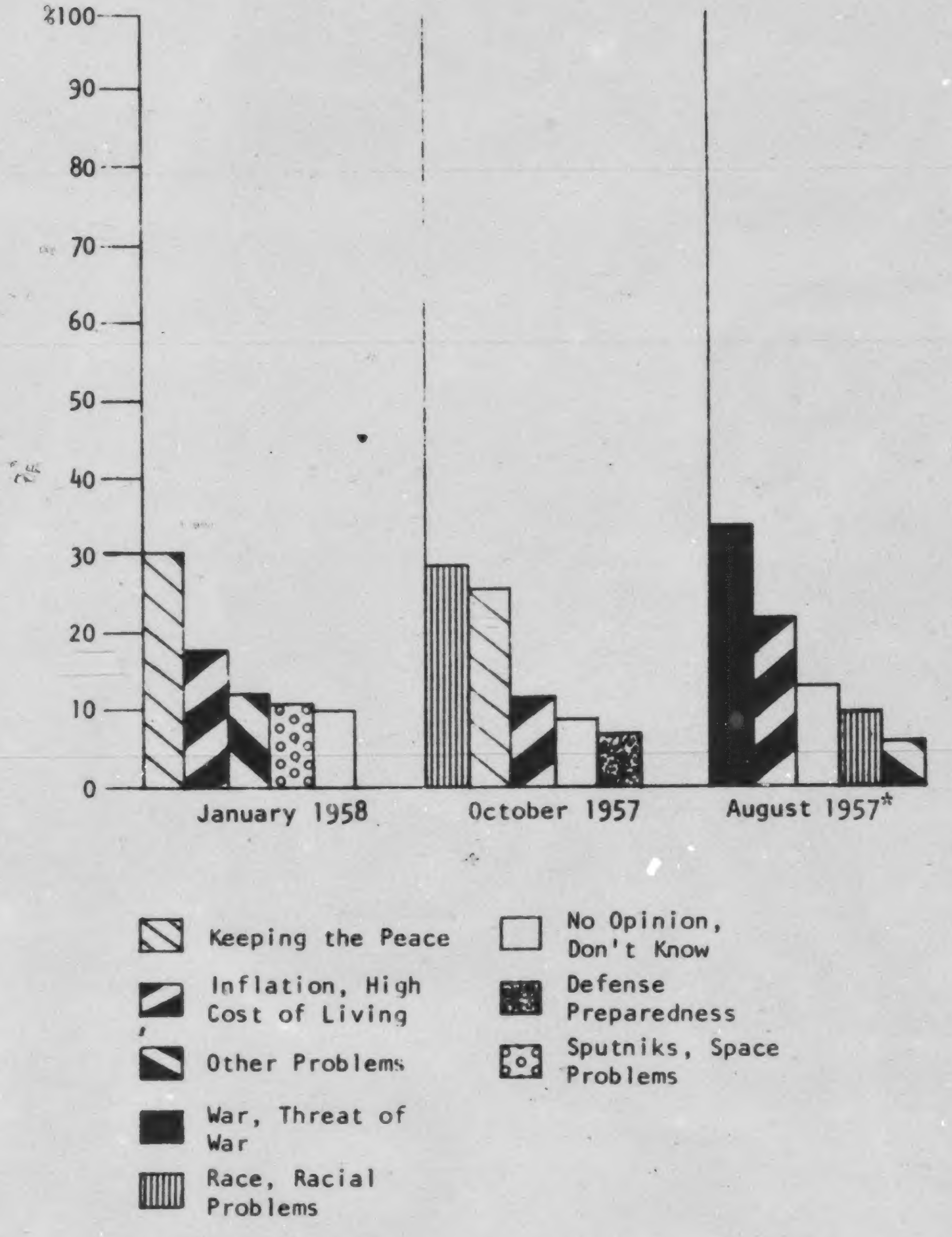
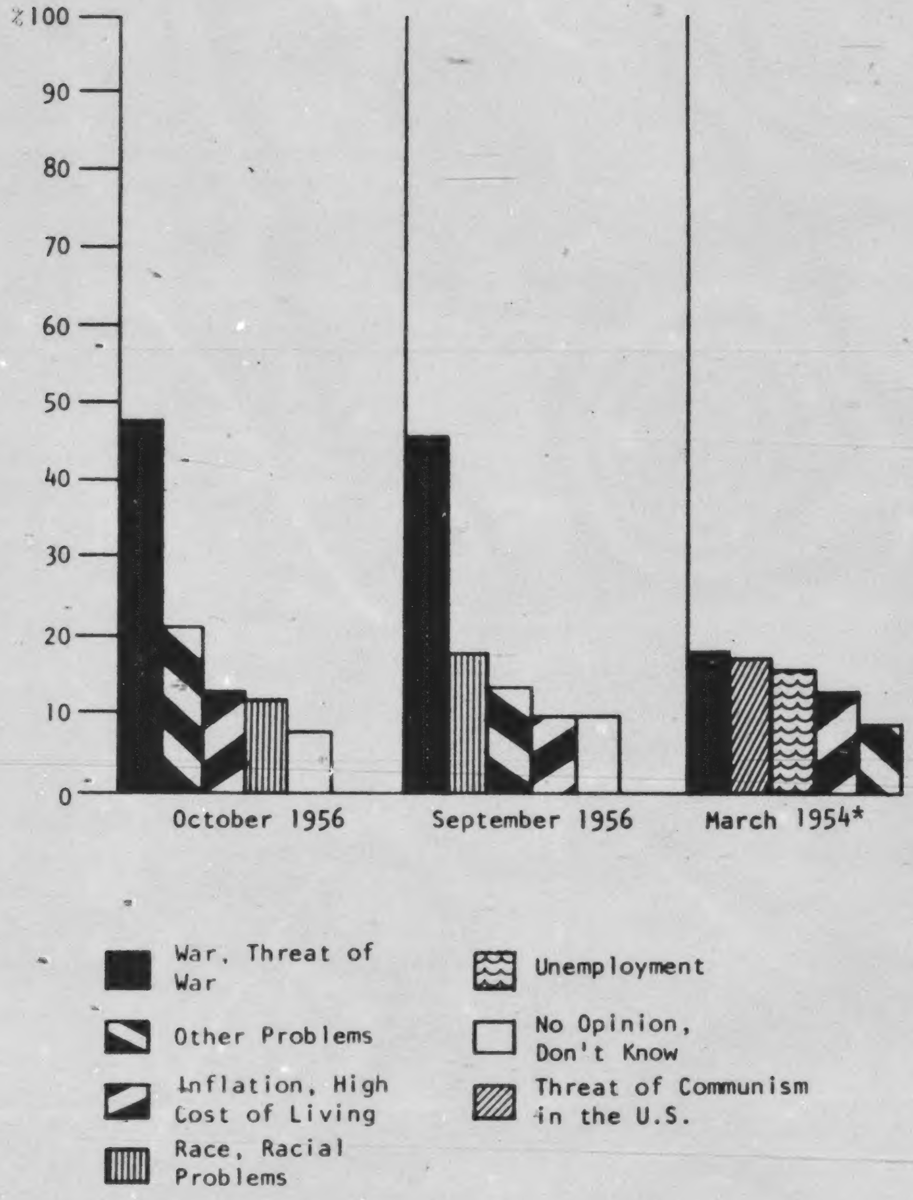
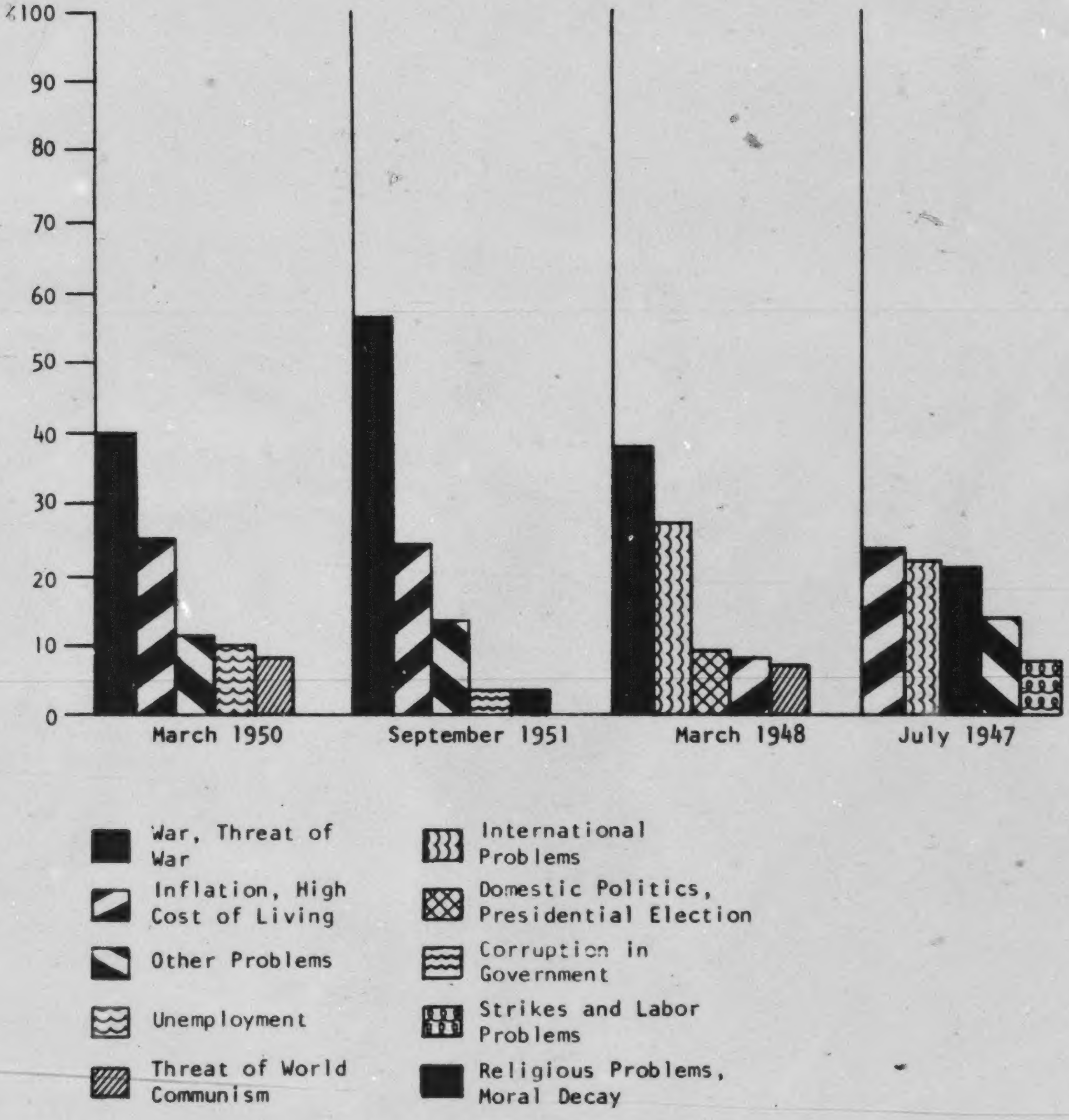
20
10
0
April 1959
September 1958
March 1958
Keeping the Peace
Other Problems
Inflation, High Cost of Living
Unemployment
Race, Racial Problems
Sputniks, Space Problems
No Opinion, Don't Know



*"Nuclear Tests, Atomic Control" also polled 6%.



*"Working Out World Peace" also polled 9%.


%100
90
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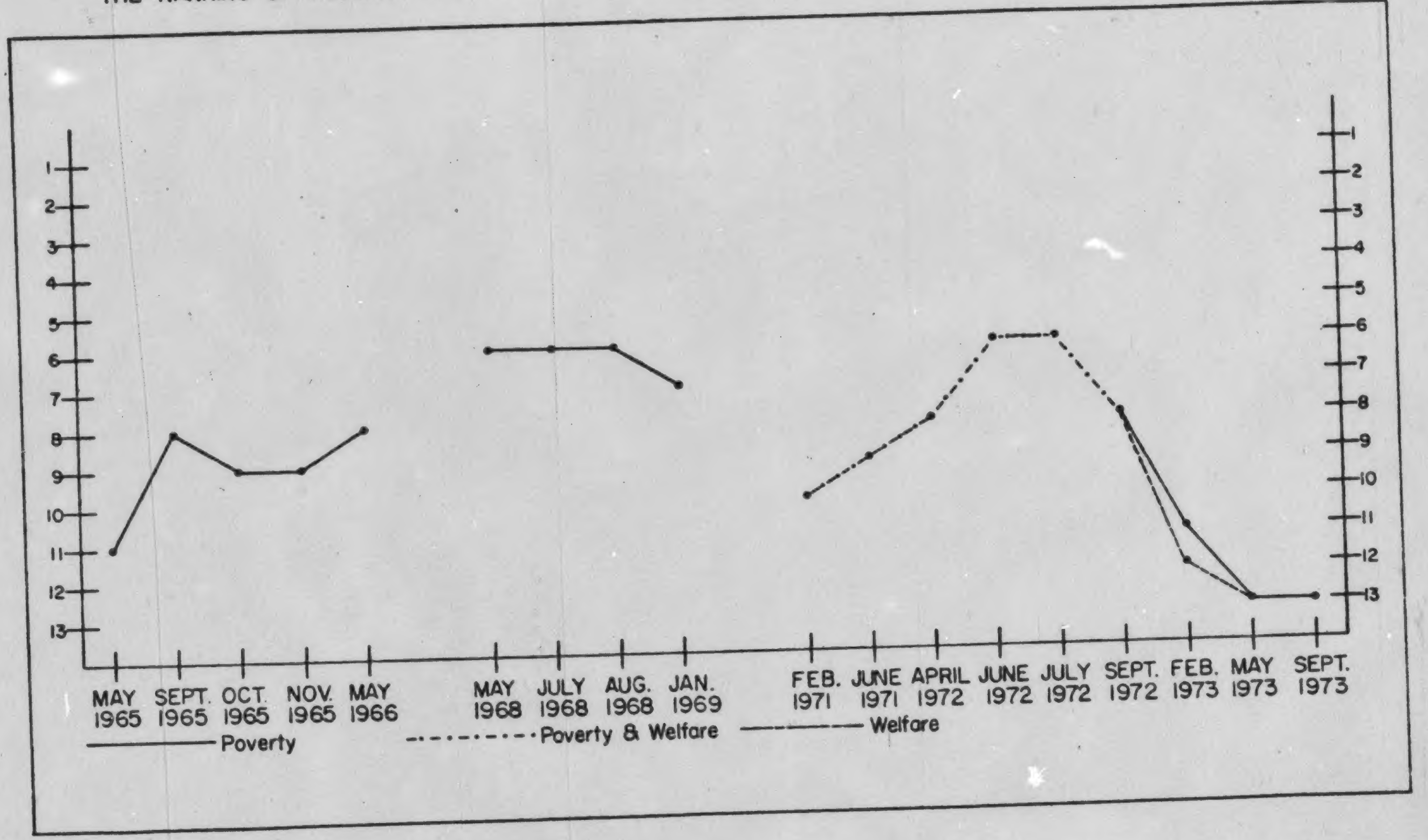
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
March 1950
September 1951
March 1948
July 1947
War, Threat of War
Inflation, High Cost of Living
Other Problems
Unemployment
Threat of World Communism
International Problems
Domestic Politics, Presidential Election
Corruption in Government
Strikes and Labor Problems
Religious Problems, Moral Decay

The period when poverty and welfare were named as a most important problem started in 1965 and continued with breaks through 1973. At no time were these issues among the top five. In a few instances they occurred in sixth place, but they were generally ranked lower: eighth was the average position on the list.

There seems to have been no trend pattern to the response, which is charted from 1965 to 1973 in the figure below. The years 1968 and mid-1972 seem to have been the periods of most interest in the poverty and welfare issues. The rise and fall of prominence on the most important problem list is subject to transitory public interest, based on current events, and a heightened response could mainly imply either that the problem was in the news or was critical. For example, the increased interest in poverty and welfare in 1965 to 1966 might reflect the rallying call of President Johnson to a "Great Society," the ratification of the Medicare and Medicaid programs and the mid-1960s racial riots. The forcible exposure to black problems in the cities and the rising commitment of government to the elimination of the poverty gap and racial discrimination may well have brought poverty in sharper focus at the end of 1960. Strong interest was generated early in the 1970s by President Nixon's announced desire to overhaul the welfare system, the proposal and defeat of the guaranteed minimum income scheme and Nixon's cutting back of the social welfare programs.

THE RANKING OF POVERTY AND WELFARE ON "THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM" LIST (GALLUP POLLS)



Before leaving the subject of the most important problem, I should like to look, in brief, at three of the important issues--war, inflation and crime--and what they mean to the American people, with special emphasis on the lower income population.

War: Americans' attitudes toward war can, I feel, be sufficiently characterized for this brief discussion by the conclusion I drew in a previous study of war support and Presidential popularity:*

> ...Americans have [shown] a strong and persistent fear and dislike of war and their wishes are for peaceful solutions as long as they are possible. However, when the President has taken action, the initial public response has been support for the President. If, however, the engagement was extended and casualties began to mount, public support dropped. Wars as a rule do not benefit Presidential popularity.
>
> Desire not to become involved in military engagements is not a new phase of public opinion. Throughout the last three decades, in every instance that the question was asked, Americans preferred economic and technical aid over military involvement of any sort. They maintained this attitude throughout this period of strong internationalism, during which time they favored foreign involvements, collective security pacts, the strengthening of the U.N. and the containment of Communist influence.

A study of support for the Vietnam war from the beginning to mid-1971 showed that older, grade-school educated persons were consistently about ten percentage points less in favor of the war than any other education or age group. Contrary to expectation, the college-educated and the young were the most supportive of it during those years. This is consistent with the tendency of the college-educated in the post-war era to have been more clearly internationalist and interventionist than the less-educated.**

---

*Doris Yokelson, Public Attitudes Toward War, The President and Foreign Relations, HI-1643-D, May 24, 1972, pp. 58-59.

**For further discussion of this, see Ibid., passim.

> Subsequent data analyses...have indicated that "differences by social status and age...seem more visible, with those of higher status and middle age most in favor of war policies." In addition, two other national studies found that lower-class persons were more likely than middle- or upper-status respondents to support 'moderate' or 'conciliatory' policies in both the Vietnam and Korean conflicts as well as to favor a de-escalation of the Vietnam war.
>
> Despite the latter evidence, many observers adopted the conventional belief that working-class segments of the population have failed to express strong opposition to the Vietnam War...In fact, participation in mass demonstrations may have provided a less accurate measure of popular sources of support or opposition concerning the war than survey responses or voting behavior.[*]

Inflation: According to a Gallup report, "never in the four-decade history of Gallup audits of the public's top worries has concern over the economy been so prominent."[**] An overwhelming 81 percent of the nation named "high cost of living" as the top problem in October 1974. The next cited problem was "dissatisfaction with/lack of trust in government" which received only 6 percent response. The results of a series of questions asked by Gallup in August 1974 on economic expectations, inflation responsibility and family economic situation and spending reveal, according to Gallup, "a profoundly pessimistic outlook."[***]

The reasons for the onset of inflation are puzzling to many Americans. After an era of unprecedented affluence which they apparently felt well into 1973, despite price rises in that year, Americans suddenly were faced with an inflation which appeared to be getting out of control and which made them fearful of their future security. In the June 1974 Gallup poll on the most important problem, the ways in which respondents felt most affected by rising costs were soaring interest rates for home mortgages, inability to pay bills and live on current income, dipping into savings and inability to save, huge food price increases, wife has to work and salary raise being absorbed by inflationary costs.

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[*] Harlan Hahn, "Correlates of Public Sentiments About War: Local Refenda on the Vietnam Issue," The American Political Science Review, Vol. LXIV, No. 4, (December 1970), p. 1187.

[**] Gallup Opinion Index, No. 112, October 1974, p. 1.

[***] Ibid.

Other strong indications of the economic worries of the American public may be found by comparing 1973 and 1974 Gallup polls taken on the economic and employment outlook for the year.*

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Question: "Which of these do you think is likely to be true of 1974: A year of economic prosperity or a year of economic difficulty?

	Prosperity	Difficulty	Don't Know
1973	40%	47%	13%
1974	7	85	8

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

Question: "Which of these do you think is likely to be true of 1974: A year of full emplovment or a year of rising unemployment?"

	Full Employment	Rising Unemployment	Don't Know
1973	42%	43%	15%
1974	8	84	8

---

*Gallup Opinion Index, No. 103, January 1974, pp. 6-7

The responsibility for the inflation appears to have been placed most strongly on government. A series of polls taken by the Gallup organization from 1959 to 1968 on this question shows no clear trend for several reasons, among which are the absence of data between 1959 and 1968, the sensitivity of this question to current events and the strong political bias to the response. This last can be seen in the fact that in July 1974, 54 percent of the Democrats said government was to blame, but only 35 percent of the Republicans thought so. Also the reaction of the national sample to labor would seem to have a good deal to do with current labor activity. Despite all of this, it is clear to see that large numbers of Americans have been dissatisfied with the way the government has been handling inflation since 1968.*

Question: "In your opinion, which is most responsible for inflation - government, business, or labor?

	GOVERNMENT %	BUSINESS %	LABOR %	NO OPINION %
July 1974	48	16	19	17
July 1973	46	19	25	10
July 1972	39	20	29	14
July 1968	46	12	26	16
October 1959	14	15	41	30

(Total for 1972 column adds to more than 100 per cent because some gave more than one answer.)

Although there was little agreement as to remedies for inflation, the answers given most frequently in the above poll were wage-price controls and reduced federal spending.

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*Gallup polls, reported in Current Opinion, Volume II, Issue 9, September 1974, p. 97.

According to Gallup, "nearly four decades of public opinion measurements have found the public in favor of wage-price controls during periods of war and severe inflation."[*] The trend data of Gallup polls since November 1971 during the three phases of wage-price controls is as follows:

Question: "Do you think wage-price controls should be made more strict, less strict or kept about as they are now?"

	MORE STRICT %	LESS STRICT %	ABOUT SAME %
April 1973	51	17	23
August 1972	45	15	29
March 1972	53	13	25
January 1972	48	11	29
November 1971	38	15	37

Moreover, in a Harris survey of July 1973, 76 percent of the public favored rolling-back food prices and freezing them, and 74 percent were for roll-back and freeze of gasoline prices. While 53 percent favored no freeze on wages, a greater percentage of Americans favored freezes on corporate profits (51 percent) and dividends (42 percent) than opposed them.[**]

There are indications that lower-income persons feel themselves most hard-hit by the inflation or are most fearful of it. The economic analyst Burkhard Strumpel of the Survey Research Center at the University of

---

[*] Gallup Opinion Index, No. 112, October 1974, p. 2.

[**] Harris Survey, July 1973.

Michigan reports, in addition to rising fears about the economy, an overall increase between 1972 and 1973 toward felt inequity in the amount of pay being received, most particularly among older blue-collar workers and blacks. Strumpel asks:[*]

> "How can we explain the overall shift towards felt inequity, and specifically the very strong reaction of older blue-collar workers and blacks? In 1973 real income increases were harder to come by. Survey findings suggest a conspicuous failure of political leaders to explain the present economic difficulties and convince the public that they were shared by all. A particularly large portion of older blue-collar workers and blacks report being worse off than 12 months ago. White-collar workers tend to be somewhat shielded from adverse developments in the economy by more job security, a larger margin of discretionary income, and the more frequent availability of liquid assets. Younger workers, white- or blue-collar, are more likely to receive pay increases in excess of price increases than older workers
>
> "Consumer sentiment in early 1974 has been at the lowest level recorded since the inception of our quarterly surveys in 1952. Quite clearly, the margin of public tolerance of adverse conditions has narrowed. Moreover, unfavorable economic experience no longer is regretfully endured as an act of nature, like bad weather. It is thought to be man-made; it is resented and blamed on the other actors. The high incidence of relative deprivation, the feeling that deserved rewards are withheld, are symptoms of this frame of mind."

In the June 1974 Gallup Poll on the most important problem, business and professional respondents named cost of living 41 percent of the time compared with less affluent groups, for whom the responses ranged from 47 to 54 percent. Another Gallup poll of August 1974, shown in the table below, revealed that persons who most expected the likelihood of a depression like the one we had in the 1930s were blue-collar workers, the grade-school educated, the poor and blacks.[**]

---

[*] Burkhard Strumpel, "Inflation, Discontent and Distributive Justice," Economic Outlook USA, (Summer 1974), Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 12.

[**] Reported in Current Opinion, September 1972, p. 102.

Question: "Some economists think the U.S. economy is heading toward a depression, such as the nation experienced in the 1930s. Do you agree or disagree?

	AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
	%	%	%
NATIONAL	46	44	10
Professional & business	34	57	9
Clerical and sales	39	52	9
Manual workers	52	40	8
Skilled	51	42	7
Unskilled	53	38	9
$20,000 and over	28	63	9
$15,000-$19,999	39	57	4
$10,000-$14,999	43	49	8
$ 5,000-$ 9,999	54	34	12
Under $ 5,000	56	32	12
College	34	59	7
High School	48	42	10
Grade SChool	55	32	13
Republicans	33	60	7
Democrats	53	38	9
Independents	45	45	10
18-29 years	49	39	12
30-49 years	45	48	7
50 and over	45	45	10
White	45	46	9
Non-white	54	32	14

Crime: Clearly, crime is seen as our most important urban issue today. Gallup called it "the emotionally charged issue of personal safety" in November 1972 and wrote earlier in 1972: "It is rapidly becoming a 'close-to-home' issue for many Americans and could gain in prominence if economic conditions continue to improve and the Vietnam war has been defused as a key issue by November."[*]

According to Gallup:

> "Survey evidence indicates that the proportion of voters who say they are afraid to go out alone at night in their own neighborhoods has shown a dramatic increase in recent years. It is especially high in cities over one million in population and even in smaller cities it has reached an astounding level.
>
> "Women particularly are fearful of personal attacks when they leave their homes in their own districts. As many as three women in four among women over the age of 50 say they are afraid to go out alone in their neighborhoods.
>
> "Fear of personal assaults is by no means limited to the larger cities. Notwithstanding government crime statistics, voters throughout the nation say that crime has increased during the last year in communities where they live."[**]

Crime was seen by Americans in 1968 and 1972 as the most important community problem. In cities of 500,000 population and over, 22 percent called crime their city's worst problem, while 11 percent named transportation and traffic and 10 percent cited drugs. Gallup notes:

> "By way of contrast, a survey in 1949 of residents of cities of 500,000 and over found that poor housing, traffic congestion, dirt, high taxes, corrupt politics all rated ahead of crime. In fact, crime was cited by only four percent as their city's worst problem." [***]

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[*] Gallup Opinion Index, April 1972 and November 1972.

[**] Gallup Opinion Index, November 1972, p. 5.

[***] Gallup Opinion Index, January 1973, p. 5.

MOST IMPORTANT COMMUNITY PROBLEM*

"What is the most important problem facing this community today?" (1968)	"What do you regard as your community's worst problem?" (1972)
1. Crime and lawlessness (#2 nationally)	1. Crime
2. Education: crowded schools, poor quality of education	2. Transportation
3. Transportation: parking, traffic	3. Drugs
4. High taxes	4. Juvenile delinquency
5. Unemployment	5. Taxes
6. Lack of community service programs	6. Sanitation
7. High cost of living (#4 nationally)	7. Unemployment
8. Racial problems (#3 nationally)	8. Community service problems
9. Slums, overcrowded housing	9. Education
10. Poor local government	10. Pollution
11. Sanitation: garbage, sewage	11. Racial problems
12. Lack of cultural, recreational facilities	12. Recreational needs
13. Lack of religion, ethics	13. Slums and housing

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*Gallup polls.

The feeling of people toward their personal safety and their fear of crime will be covered in more detail later in the report. It can be noted here, however, that Gallup and National Opinion Research Center polls show a 10 percent increase in fear of crime nationally between the years 1965 and 1974. The NORC survey in the spring of 1974 reported 45 percent of persons nationwide afraid to walk alone at night in their area. Women, the very poor, the city- and town-dwellers, blacks and those in the South feel most affected.

A 1973 Harris survey of 825 residents of Harlem in New York City underscores the acuteness of the problem of crime in some communities. When asked by Harris, "What are two or three of the biggest problems facing people such as yourself?" Harlem respondents named the following:[*]

		RACE		
	TOTAL (%)	WHITE (%)	BLACK (%)	SPANISH AMERICAN (%)
Crime	51	59	51	47
Housing	31	24	33	29
Drugs	29	18	33	27
Dirty Streets	16	22	13	18
Unemployment	7	5	8	7
Inflation, economic problems	6	9	6	4
Education	5	7	4	6
Noise	5	4	3	10

A survey taken by Daniel Yankelovich of New Yorkers' attitudes and perceptions, published early in 1974, gives crime the same priority as the Harris survey.* The question asked of 1,341 residents of New York City was: "What are the two or three problems or issues of greatest concern to you personally that you would most like to see the new city administration do something about?" Persons of all ages, backgrounds, religions, occupations and boroughs of the city overwhelmingly named crime as their greatest concern. Crime received 63 percent of the total response. The next mentioned issues were drugs (28 percent), inflation (20 percent) and transportation (19 percent). All other issues were of relatively less concern at the moment to New Yorkers. According to the report of the poll,

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[*] Harris survey reported in The New York Times, November 21, 1974, p. 53.

> "Garbage collection? Only 7 percent of those polled mentioned it.
>
> "Health care? Six percent.
>
> "Traffic? Four percent.
>
> "Even the city school system--which serves more than one million children and is still in the throes of a troublesome decentralization process--was cited by only 11 percent.
>
> "This does not mean that New Yorkers are not concerned about these services. It does mean that they rate a lower priority when measured against the intense feelings about crime...."
>
> "...it was remarkable how few deviations from pattern there were in connection with governmental priorities.
>
> "Even on the question of making racial discrimination a major matter for city action, blacks--presumably more of a target for discrimination than their white neighbors--were only at the 7 percent level in mentioning it, compared to 3 percent of the white respondents.
>
> "Again, much of the explanation of the low ranking of such concerns lies in the preoccupation with crime by most New Yorkers."

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*The New York Times, January 17, 1974, p. 36.

A survey taken three years earlier in Louisville, Kentucky by the Roper Organization disclosed clear differences between black and white feelings about their living conditions: housing, crime, and neighborhood improvement. Although Louisville's whites most frequently answered "nothing" in response to the question what are the "real problems" in their neighborhoods, Negroes had a plethora of real problems. In conducting the interview, the interviewers did not mention race until the interview was half over. This particular question was asked before this time, and responses were later compared as to black and white.

A REAL PROBLEM IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD
(Roper Poll-Louisville, 1970)*

	NEGROES (%)	WHITES (%)
Supply of good housing	43	3
Juvenile delinquency	41	14
Crime	39	12
Upkeep of houses and yards	35	13
Street cleaning and repairs	30	18
Street lighting	26	23
Child day care for working mothers	23	10
Public transportation	21	21
Unemployment	19	2
Concern of public officials	16	10
Police treatment	11	2
Schools and education	10	6
Garbage collection	10	6
None or don't know	7	28
(And crime)		
Breaking into houses	59	48
Drunkenness	54	21
Gambling	52	3
Drug use among youths	38	14
Purse snatchings	36	13
Prostitution	33	4
Knifings and shootings	32	4
Muggings	17	4
Loan sharking	6	2
None or don't know	14	34

*Reported in Jean Heinig, "A Tale of Two Cities," The Public Pulse, April 1970.

Education was named by comparatively few blacks, not because it was unimportant to them, but because they thought their children were getting an adequate education in the Louisville schools.

Attitudes Toward Welfare, Poverty and Government Programs

Following are tables and charts of selected issues which I have compiled from a collection of polls dating back, in some cases, to the mid-1930s. The source of the poll is indicated in the table itself or in the footnote. A more detailed reference to these sources can be found in Appendix B to this report, Public Opinion Poll Data Sources and Collection, which gives descriptions of the material of the poll organizations and survey research centers contained in this collection.

The tables begin with a basic paradox: the belief that poverty in America can never be eliminated and the desire, at the same time, for the federal government to make an all-out effort to get rid of poverty in this country.

POVERTY EVER ELIMINATED?

		Percent No	No Opinion
Question:	"Do you think poverty will ever be done away with in this country?" (AIPO)		
	1937	83	4
	March 1964	83	8
	June 1967	89	7
Question:	"Do you think that poverty will eventually be eliminated in America or do you think there will always be poor people in America?" (Roper-S.E.P.)		
	December 1967	94	1
Question:	"Do you think poverty will ever be done away with in this country or not?" (Feagin-ORC)		
	Spring 1969	80	10

FEDERAL PROGRAM OF ELIMINATION OF POVERTY

Question: "Now, I'm going to read you several things you sometimes hear people say, and ask whether, in general, you agree or disagree....The federal government has a responsibility to try to reduce unemployment. The federal government has a responsibility to try to do away with poverty in this country." (AIPO)*

		%		
		Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
Fall 1964	Unemployment	75	18	7
	Poverty	72	20	8

---

*Free and Cantril, pp. 14-15.

Question: "Do you personally favor or oppose an all-out effort by the federal government to get rid of poverty in this country?" (ORC)

	Favor %	Oppose %	No Choice %
1969	73	16	11
1972	78	13	9

CONCERN ABOUT POVERTY

Question: "Now I'd like to find out how worried or concerned you are about a number of problems I am going to mention: a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or not at all. If you aren't really concerned about some of these matters, don't hesitate to say so. Reducing poverty in this country."(AIPO)*

Early June 1972

	%
Great deal	45
Fair amount	40
Not very much	12
Not at all	1
Don't know	2

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*Watts and Free, State of the Nation, p. 289.

EFFECTIVENESS OF POVERTY PROGRAM

NATIONAL					
	1966 (Harris)	1966 (ORC)	1967 (ORC)	1968 (ORC)	1972 (Gallup)
Successful, Helping, Made progress	46%	38%	33%	30%	34%*
Not successful, Not much good, Lost ground	54%	49%	49%	52%	33%*

RESPONSE BY RACE (ORC)						
	1966		1967		1968	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Helping	34%	61%	31%	47%	29%	39%
Not much good	52%	30%	50%	37%	53%	46%

*Gallup also used the response "stood still" which is not included here. "Stood still" received 26 percent.

January, 1965: (AIPO)

"What are your over-all feelings about welfare and relief programs?"

Favorable	Mixed	Do Away With Programs	No Opinion
43%	45%	6%	6%

Criticisms in order of frequency:

1. Some people get benefits who don't deserve them
2. Too much red tape
3. Program destroys initiative
4. Programs go too far toward socialization
5. Programs do not go far enough
6. Excessive costs, too much waste

November, 1970: (Harris)

"Now let me read you some stands that some men in public life have taken. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it."

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
Increasing federal programs to help the poor	56	28	16
Abolishing welfare and making people who collect it go to work	46	34	20

CAUSES OF POVERTY

April, 1943: (NORC)

"It has been said that there will always be people in the United States who do not have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they need. Do you think there will always be or not?"

Will be--83 percent

"IF THERE WILL BE: What do you think is the main reason for this?"
(More than one answer per person.)

Lack of ability in individuals	42%
Lack of initiative in individuals	39
Miscellaneous	17
Economic or political system	12
Don't know	5

"Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell me when I interview them, and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree with them, and whether you agree or disagree a little or quite a bit?*

MOST PEOPLE WHO DON'T GET AHEAD JUST DON'T HAVE ENOUGH WILL POWER (SRC--Michigan)

	Agree** %	Disagree** %	Don't know %
September-November, 1952	62	35	2
November, 1956	59	40	1

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*The first sentence of the 1956 SRC question reads: "I have some statements which I will read to you and I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with them."

**In 1952 "agree" percentage is a combination of "agree quite a bit"--40 percent and "agree a little"--22 percent. "Disagree" combines "disagree a little"--18 percent and "disagree quite a bit"--17 percent.

In 1956, "agree" is the total of "agree alot"--32 percent and "agree a little"--27 percent. "Disagree" is a combination of "disagree a little"--26 percent and "disagree alot"--14 percent.

CAUSES OF POVERTY (cont'd)

Question: "In your opinion, which is more often to blame if a person is poor--lack of effort on his own part, or circumstances beyond his control?"* (AIPO)

	March 1964 %	Fall** 1964 %	Nov. 1964 %	Oct. 1965 %	Dec. 1965 %	June 1967 %
Lack of effort	33	34	30	40	40	42
Circumstances beyond control	29	25	31	27	29	19
Both	32	38	34	27	28	36
No opinion	6	3	5	6	3	6

October, 1964: (Harris)

"Do you tend to believe or not believe in the following statements that have been made by some people?"

"Self-reliance is a trait of the strong"	84%
"Welfare and relief make people lazy"	64
"The weak always want a handout"	47

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[*] The March and November 1964 and October and December 1965 Gallup poll responses are taken from a table in Schiltz, p. 160.

[**] Free and Cantril, p. 28.

CAUSES OF POVERTY (cont'd)

December, 1967: (Roper-Saturday Evening Post)

"Which two or three of these things do you think are the most important reasons why people are poor today?"

Lack of education, opportunities	63
Laziness	57
Lack of intelligence and ability	44
Lack of competitiveness or agressiveness	25
Family, ethnic or racial background	20
Unwillingness to take risks	20
Bad luck	12
Don't know, no answer	1
(More than one answer per person was possible)	242%

Spring, 1969: (ORC--Joe Feagin)*

"In your opinion, what are the main reasons there are poor people in this country?"

Laziness, lack of effort by the poor		55%
Insufficient education/training		46%
For lack of effort	5%	
For lack of ability	1	
For lack of opportunities	7	
Not further specified	33	
Lack of job opportunities		22
Not enough money		18
Wages too low	6	
Inflation, taxes	8	
Not further specified	4	
Illness, physical handicaps		17
Immorality, money mismanagement		14
Inequalities in the system, exploitation		13
Government waste, poor priorities		7
Prejudice, discrimination		5
Too many children		5
Basic lack of ability		3
Lack of opportunities (other than above)		3
Just bad luck (unspecified)		3
Inadequate care for the elderly		2
Other		9
Don't know		3
(More than one answer per person was possible)		223%

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*Joe R. Feagin, May 1971 report, p. 13.

CAUSES OF POVERTY (cont'd)

Spring, 1969: (ORC-Joe Feagin)*

"Now I want to read you a list of reasons some people give to explain why there are poor people in this country. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is very important as a cause of poverty, somewhat important, or not important at all?"

	Important Cause**	Not Important Cause	Uncertain
Lack of thrift and proper money management by poor people	88%	11%	2%
Lack of effort by the poor themselves	88	9	3
Sickness and physical handicaps	85	14	2
Lack of ability and talent among poor people	85	12	3
Loose morals and drunkenness	79	17	4
Low wages in some business and industries	77	20	3
Prejudice and discrimination against Negroes	70	26	5
Failure of private industry to provide enough jobs	63	31	6
Failure of society to provide good schools for many Americans	61	34	5
Being taken advantage of by rich people	48	45	7
Just bad luck	35	60	5

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*Feagin, p. 15.

**The percentage of "important cause" is a total of the responses "very important" and "somewhat important."

WELFARE CHEATING I[*]

	Percent	No Opinion
December 1936: (AIPO)		
"Do you think the persons taken off relief will have a hard or an easy time finding work?"		
Percent "easy time"	24[▼]	- NA -
August 1937: (AIPO)		
"Are there many persons in your community on WPA who could get jobs if they tried?"		
Percent "could get jobs"	55[▼]	30
April 1939: (AIPO)		
"Do you think there are any persons on relief in this community who could get jobs in private industry if they tried?"		
Percent "yes, there are"	69[▼]	17
September-October 1964: (AIPO)[**]		
"Generally speaking, any able-bodied person who really wants to work in this country can find a job and earn a living."		
Percent "in general, agree"	76	3
September-October 1964: (AIPO)[***]		
"The relief rolls are loaded with chiselers and people who just don't want to work."		
Percent "in general, agree"	66	11
November, 1964: (AIPO)		
"What proportion of persons do you think are on relief for dishonest reasons--most, some, hardly any, or none?"		
Percent "most" or "some"	67[▼]	12
August 1965: (AIPO)		
"Do you think many people collect unemployment benefits even though they could find work?"		
Percent "yes, many do"	83[▼]	10

[▼] Base excludes "no opinion."

[*] The December 1936, August 1937, April 1939, November 1964 and August 1965 poll reports are taken from a table in Schiltz, p. 156

[**] Free and Cantril, p. 190-1.

[***] Ibid.

WELFARE CHEATING II

	Percent	No Opinion
February 1969: (Harris)		
No question quoted. Do people agree or disagree with the following statements?		
"Cities are full of crime and corruption and people who want a hand-out"		
Percent "agree"	61	7
December 1969: (ORC & Joe Feagin)		
"Now I would like to read you a list of statements people sometimes make about public welfare and relief programs. Some people agree with them; other people do not agree. I'd like you to tell me how you feel. As I read each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or strongly disagree."		
Percent "tend to agree" and "strongly agree"		
"There are too many people receiving welfare money who should be working."	84	5
"Many people getting welfare money are not honest about their need."	71	12
"Many women getting welfare money are having illegitimate babies to increase the money they get."	61	16
"Most people on welfare who can work try to find jobs so they can support themselves."	43	8
"A lot of people are moving to this state from other states just to get welfare money here."	41	28

WELFARE CHEATING

Question: "Do you think many people collect unemployment benefits even though they could find work?" August 1965. (AIPO)

	Yes %	No %	No Opinion %
INCOME			
$7,000 and over	83	10	7
$5,000-6,999	79	15	6
$3,000-4,999	71	18	11
Under $3,000	60	22	18
COMMUNITY SIZE			
500,000 and over	74	16	10
50,000-499,999	72	15	13
2,500-49,999	76	17	7
Under 2,500 rural	79	11	10

FAIRNESS OF AMOUNT OF WELFARE

	National %
April 1938: (AIPO)	
"Do you think people on relief in your community are getting as much as they should?"	
Percent "no"	29
February 1940: (AIPO)	
"Do you think most persons on home relief in your community are getting as much relief help as they should, or not as much?"	
Percent "not as much"	32
February 1940: (AIPO)	
"Do you think most persons on WPA in your community are getting as much relief as they should, or not as much?"	
Percent "not as much"	30
April 1968: (Harris)	
No question quoted. People were asked if they agreed or disagreed with this statement: "More welfare payments should be paid by the federal government than is now the case."	
Percent "agree"	31
Spring 1969: (ORC--Joe Feagin)*	
"Now I would like to read you a list of statements people sometimes make about public welfare and relief programs. Some people agree with them; other people do not agree. I'd like you to tell me how you feel. As I read each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, or strongly disagree."	
Percent "strongly agree" and "tend to agree"	
"Generally speaking, we are spending too little money on welfare programs in this country."	34
"One of the main troubles with welfare is that it doesn't given people enough to get along on."	45

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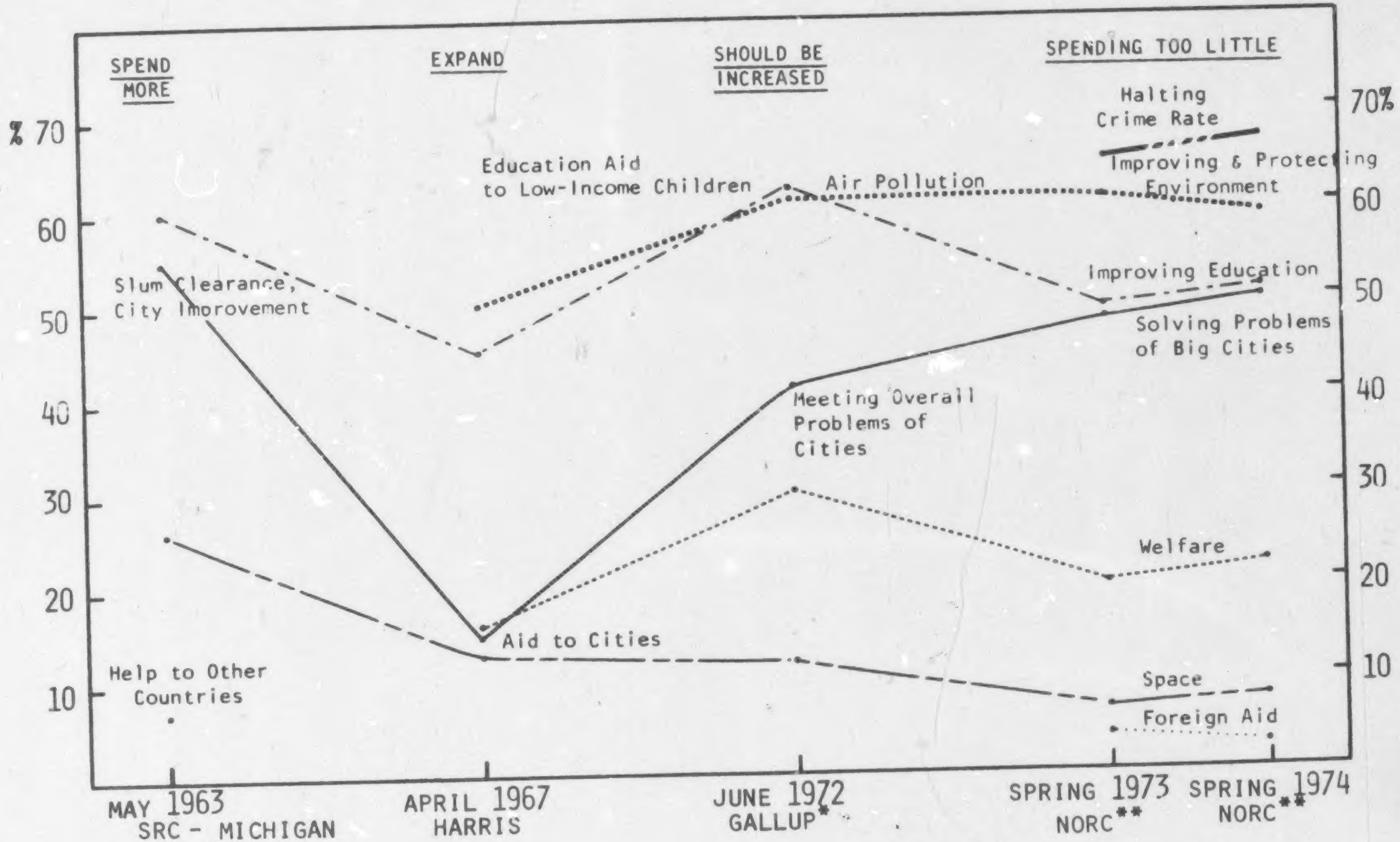
*Feagin, p. 35.

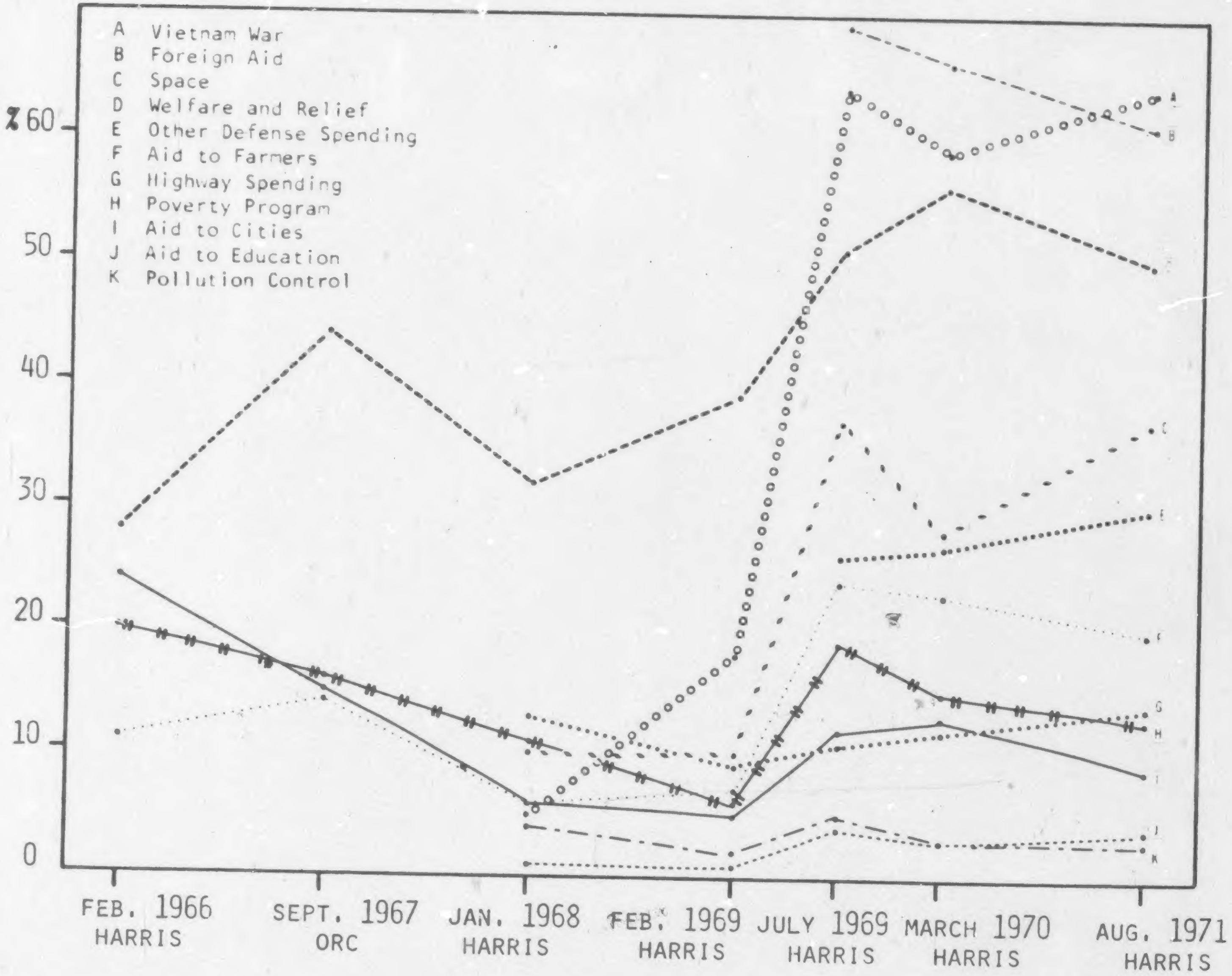
GOVERNMENT SPENDING--SELECTED ISSUES--1963-1974--NATIONAL RESPONSE

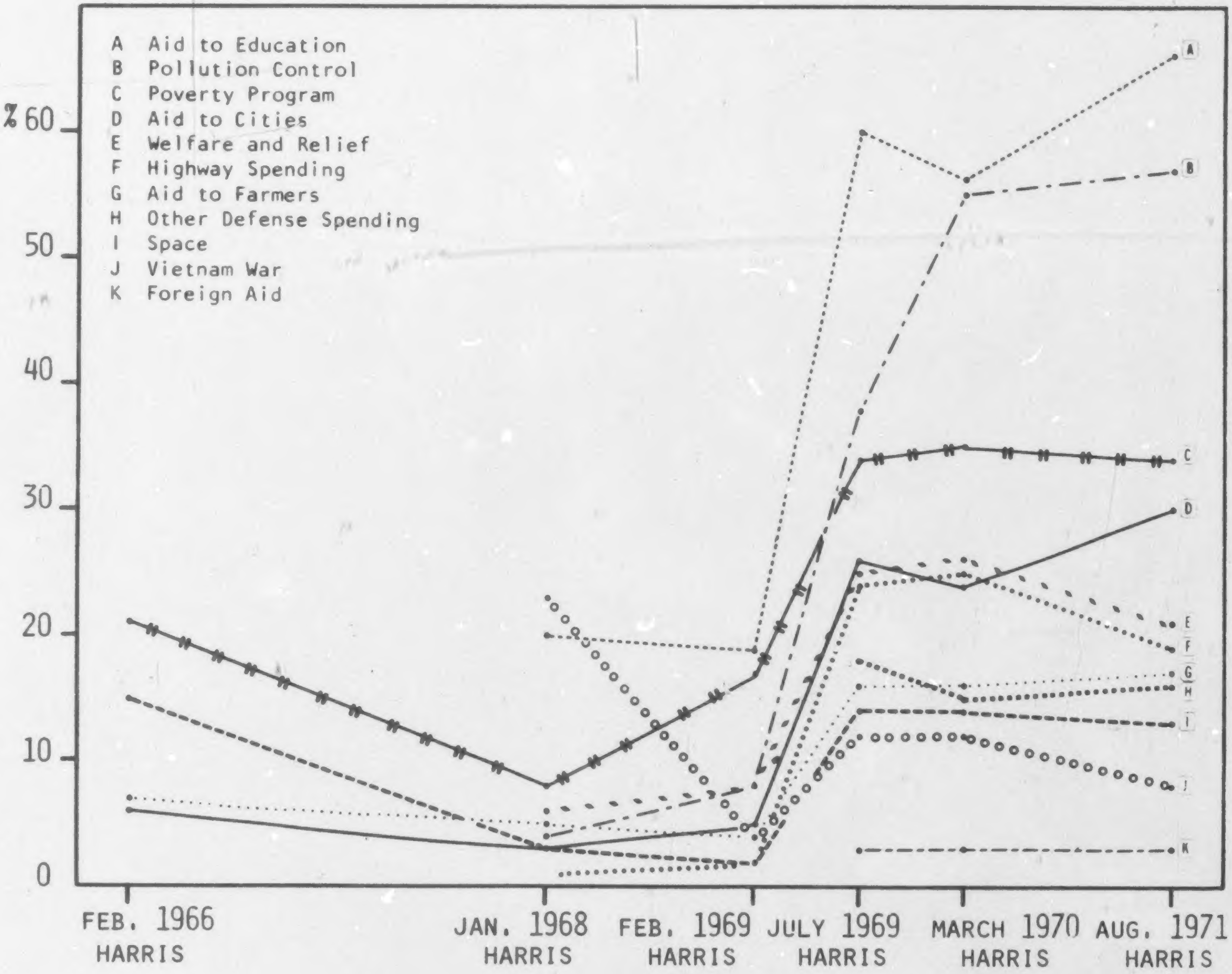


*From Watts & Free, pp. 294-297.

**The General Social Survey

PROGRAMS TO BE CUT FIRST IN FEDERAL SPENDING





PROGRAMS TO BE CUT LEAST IN FEDERAL SPENDING

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

NORC GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY 1974
RESPONSE NATIONALLY AND BY INCOME LEVELS OF UNDER AND OVER $6,000

QUESTION: "We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A)...are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM):"

	TOO LITTLE			TOO MUCH		
	NATIONAL	Under $6,000	Over $6,000	NATIONAL	Under $6,000	Over $6,000
A. Space exploration program	8%	6%	9%	61%	66%	58%
B. Improving and protecting the environment	59	52	62	8	9	7
C. Improving and protecting the nation's health	64	60	66	5	6	4
D. Solving the problems of the big cities	50	43	54	11	12	10
E. Halting the rising crime rate	67	60	69	5	7	4
F. Dealing with drug addiction	60	56	62	6	9	5
G. Improving the nation's educational system	51	43	53	9	11	8
H. Improving the condition of blacks	31	36	30	21	19	21
I. The military, armaments and defense	17	18	16	31	26	34
J. Foreign Aid	3	5	3	75	72	78
K. Welfare	22	33	19	42	28	47

SUPPORT FOR INCREASED GOVERNMENT SPENDING
NORC General Social Survey 1974
INCOME CROSS-TABULATED WITH SEVERAL VARIABLES
(PERCENT)

"Spending Too Little"

	SPACE	ENVIRON-MENT	HEALTH	CITIES	CRIME	DRUGS	EDUCATION	BLACKS	MILITARY	FOREIGN AID	WELFARE
RACE											
White											
Under $6,000	6	48	56	40	59	55	39	24	18	4	27
Over $6,000	9	61	64	52	68	61	51	25	16	2	17
Black											
Under $6,000	5	65	75	55	56	57	57	86	19	9	59
Over $6,000	2	71	83	74	80	67	80	79	17	11	48
EDUCATION											
Grade School or Less											
Under $6,000	4	44	55	36	67	55	37	34	21	6	37
Over $6,000	5	55	66	49	71	66	50	27	21	3	22
High School											
Under $6,000	6	63	68	52	72	61	50	35	12	4	24
Over $6,000	9	62	66	54	69	60	53	29	16	2	16
College											
Under $6,000	20	64	68	60	32	40	60	48	20	4	36
Over $6,000	12	71	64	58	63	62	58	35	11	4	24
REGION											
East											
Under $6,000	15	65	76	49	59	59	52	44	19	6	38
Over $6,000	8	71	75	64	69	61	57	35	14	3	18
Midwest											
Under $6,000	4	40	55	50	67	61	42	39	18	5	30
Over $6,000	7	60	63	54	72	65	51	33	13	2	22
South											
Under $6,000	2	50	58	39	56	52	42	32	19	5	35
Over $6,000	9	59	61	45	67	65	60	27	20	2	18
West											
Under $6,000	9	58	59	38	61	54	37	30	14	6	29
Over $6,000	11	58	65	51	65	52	41	22	19	4	18
AGE											
Under 30											
Under $6,000	8	77	63	60	60	52	52	41	12	7	40
Over $6,000	9	79	67	61	64	57	59	33	12	3	21
30-49											
Under $6,000	5	66	74	54	65	56	52	50	12	12	47
Over $6,000	9	62	67	54	68	64	56	33	12	2	19
50-69											
Under $6,000	6	34	59	32	63	58	41	30	26	1	28
Over $6,000	8	51	63	47	72	63	46	23	26	2	19
70 and Older											
Under $6,000	4	34	48	30	54	57	27	24	18	4	20
Over $6,000	9	35	54	48	87	67	39	20	22	4	11
POLITICAL PARTY											
Republican											
Under $6,000	9	43	65	39	63	60	40	29	22	1	28
Over $6,000	12	56	61	44	68	61	43	19	18	3	10
Democrat											
Under $6,000	5	49	54	41	58	56	39	40	19	6	34
Over $6,000	7	64	70	57	70	63	60	37	17	3	24
Independent											
Under $6,000	6	64	65	48	62	51	53	32	11	6	36
Over $6,000	8	63	64	55	67	60	51	31	14	1	19
Other, Refused											
Under $6,000	4	56	65	58	58	58	46	39	15	8	31
Over $6,000	0	65	71	54	67	63	63	25	13	4	13

SUPPORT FOR INCREASED GOVERNMENT SPENDING
(cont'd.)

	SPACE	ENVIRON-MENT	HEALTH	CITIES	CRIME	DRUGS	EDUCATION	BLACKS	MILITARY	FOREIGN AID	WELFARE
OCCUPATION											
Professional											
Under $6,000	15	73	50	46	42	46	50	39	8	0	19
Over $6,000	10	69	69	58	66	59	56	37	10	2	21
Managerial Sales											
Under $6,000	0	52	64	48	73	58	50	35	16	4	27
Over $6,000	15	63	64	57	67	63	46	29	16	4	16
Clerical											
Under $6,000	13	60	73	55	75	58	45	25	18	3	23
Over $6,000	5	63	64	53	69	58	56	27	14	1	19
Skilled Workers											
Under $6,000	3	50	47	35	47	65	38	21	24	0	21
Over $6,000	18	63	72	49	67	66	55	19	22	2	18
Operatives, Laborers											
Under $6,000	7	53	67	49	69	61	43	38	17	9	37
Over $6,000	4	62	65	55	76	65	55	31	22	2	21
Farm, Farm Workers											
Under $6,000	0	21	57	14	57	57	29	29	14	7	43
Over $6,000	0	50	46	46	50	75	27	17	17	0	0
Service Workers											
Under $6,000	1	46	54	40	56	47	40	47	18	4	38
Over $6,000	3	50	63	58	68	63	53	38	12	5	21
CLASS											
Lower Class											
Under $6,000	13	53	68	33	63	58	43	40	25	8	38
Over $6,000	22	61	72	61	67	56	72	28	28	0	33
Working Class											
Under $6,000	2	52	59	40	60	54	43	34	14	4	34
Over $6,000	6	59	65	51	68	63	54	30	16	2	21
Middle Class											
Under $6,000	7	53	59	50	61	58	43	33	21	6	27
Over $6,000	11	64	66	56	70	60	52	29	15	3	17
Upper Class											
Under $6,000	23	39	62	50	54	46	46	62	8	15	54
Over $6,000	10	66	55	52	69	66	55	39	24	7	21

GOVERNMENT SPENDING
WELFARE ONLY
NATIONAL RESPONSE IN PERCENT

Are expenditures for welfare and relief too little, about right, or too great?

	TOO LITTLE NOT ENOUGH	ABOUT RIGHT	TOO GREAT TOO MUCH	NO OPINION DON'T KNOW
Relief & recovery October 1935 (AIPO)	9%	31%	60%	-
Relief & recovery April 1936 (AIPO)	12	35	53	-
Relief & recovery April 1937 (AIPO)	12	41	47	(6)
Welfare & relief programs January 1965 (AIPO)	18	33	20	29
Welfare (multiple choice) October 1971 (Roper)	19	19	52	10
Welfare (multiple choice) March 1973 (NORC)	20	24	51	4
Welfare (multiple choice) July 1974 (NORC)	22	32	42	4

SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR WELFARE AND RELIEF*

NATIONAL RESPONSE IN PERCENT

	GOVERNMENT SHOULD:			
	INCREASE	KEEP THE SAME	DECREASE	NO OPINION
Relief & recovery October 1935 (AIPO)	9%	31%	60%	-NA-
Relief & recovery April 1937 (AIPO)	11	39	44	6
Relief January 1939 (AIPO)	17	39	38	6
Relief January 1940 (AIPO)	20	24	44	12+
Welfare programs November 1961 (AIPO)	27	35	23	15+
Welfare & relief in your area November 1964 (AIPO)	18	32	20	29+
Aid for welfare & relief (multiple choice) April 3, 1967 (Harris)	16	46	31	7 (not sure)
Welfare programs to help low-income families June 1972 (AIPO)	30	41	18**	5

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*The October 1935, April 1937, January 1939, January 1940, November 1961 and November 1964 surveys are taken from a table in Schiltz, p. 152.

**Plus 6% "ended altogether".

+Question wording may have had an effect on this response.

MAJOR CAUSE OF INFLATION

Harris Surveys*

Question: "Do you feel that each of the following is a major cause of inflation, a minor cause, or not much cause at all?"

	MAJOR CAUSE (%) NATIONAL		
	April 1970	February 1970	August 1969
Cost of Vietnam war	79	74	78
Federal government spending	69	67	68
High interest on borrowing	56	56	50
Business profits too high	52	52	49
Taxes	51	50	54
Union wage demands	47	52	5[illegible]
Welfare and relief payments	39	39	40
People have too much money	29	26	29
Federal money spent on education and health	13	16	16

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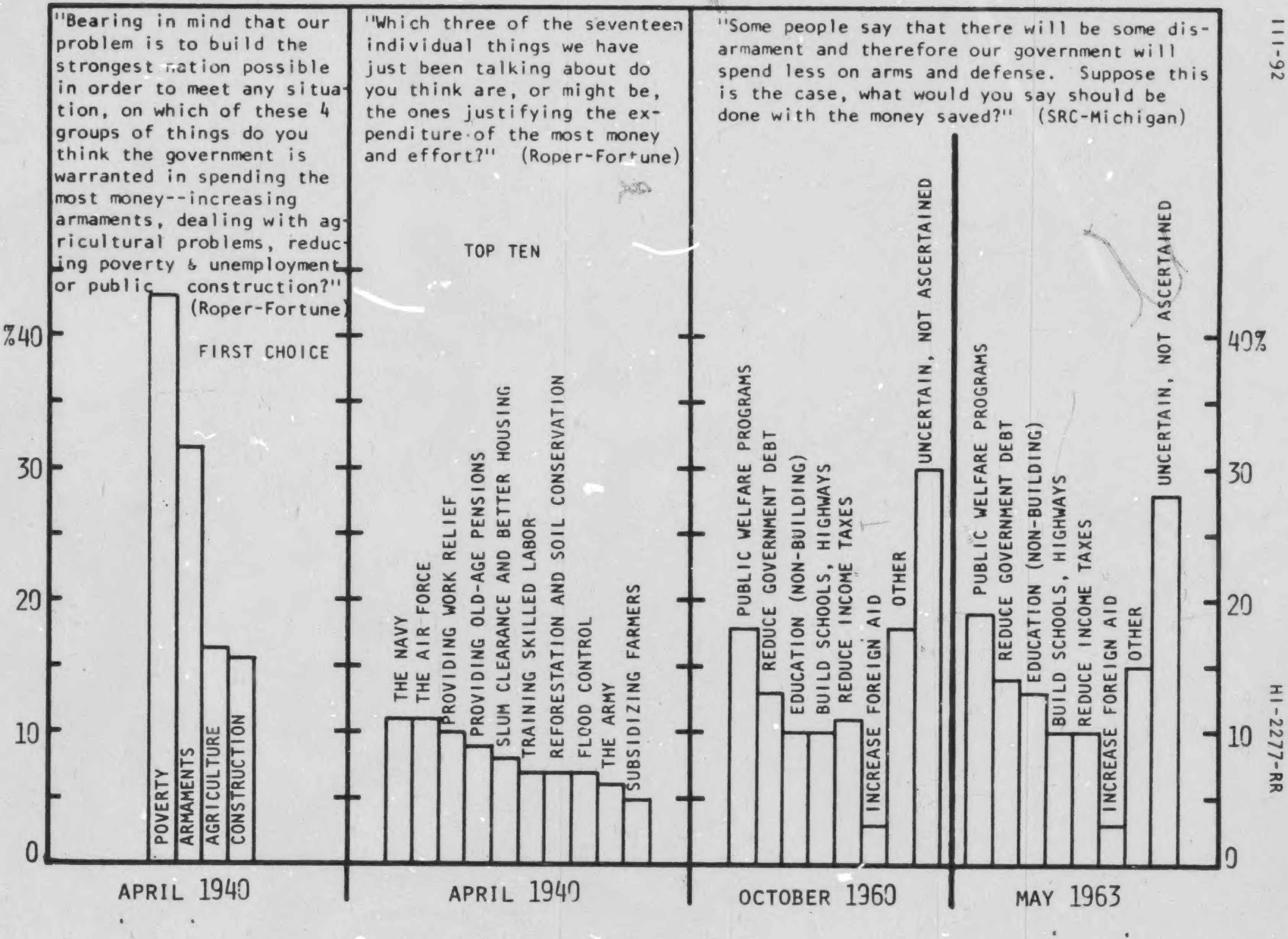
*The 1970 surveys are from the 1970 Harris Yearbook and the 1969 survey is from Life, August 15, 1969.

PROGRAM PRIORITIES

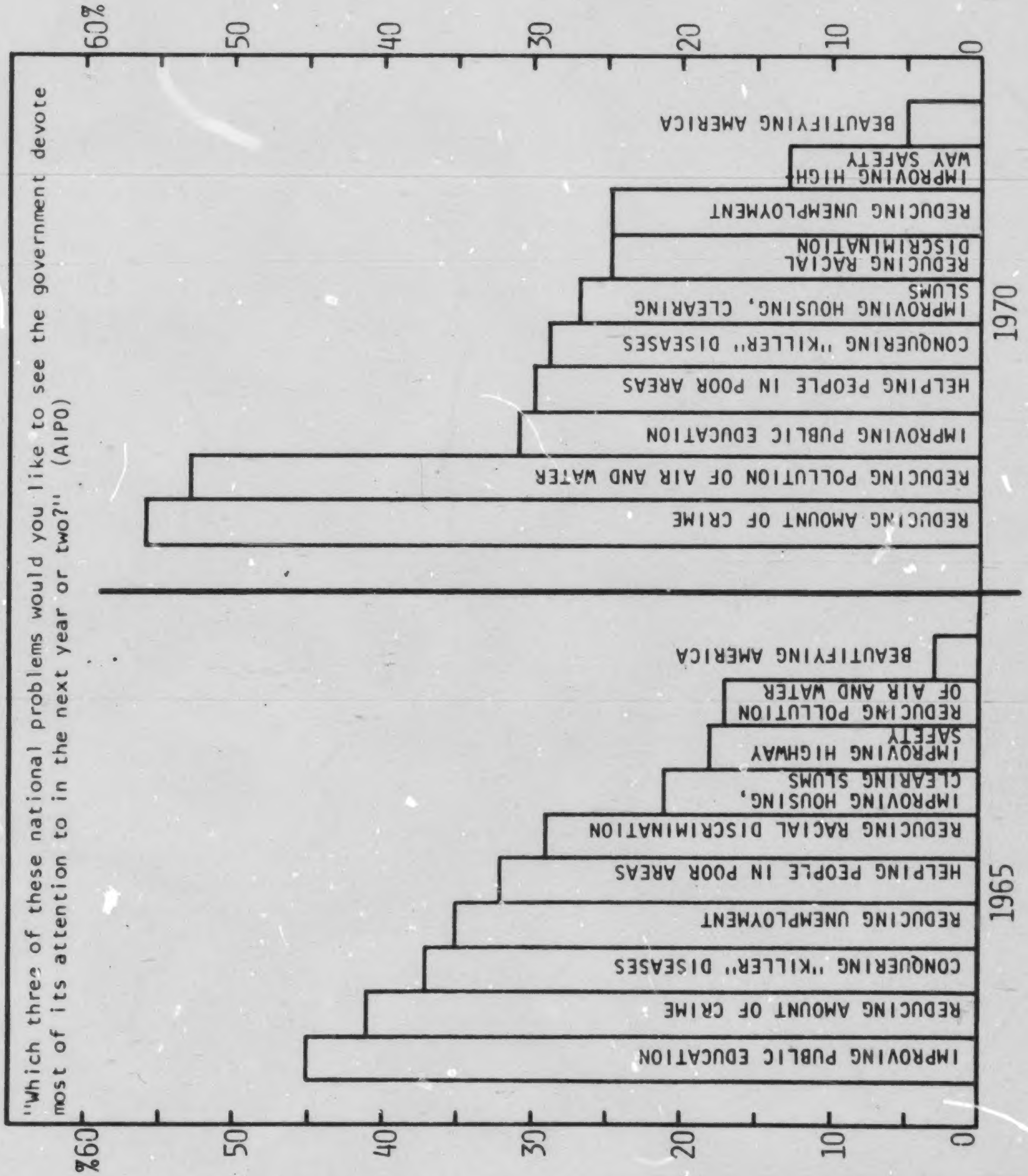


"Bearing in mind that our problem is to build the strongest nation possible in order to meet any situation, on which of these 4 groups of things do you think the government is warranted in spending the most money--increasing armaments, dealing with agricultural problems, reducing poverty & unemployment or public construction?" (Roper-Fortune)

"Which three of the seventeen individual things we have just been talking about do you think are, or might be, the ones justifying the expenditure of the most money and effort?" (Roper-Fortune)

"Some people say that there will be some disarmament and therefore our government will spend less on arms and defense. Suppose this is the case, what would you say should be done with the money saved?" (SRC-Michigan)

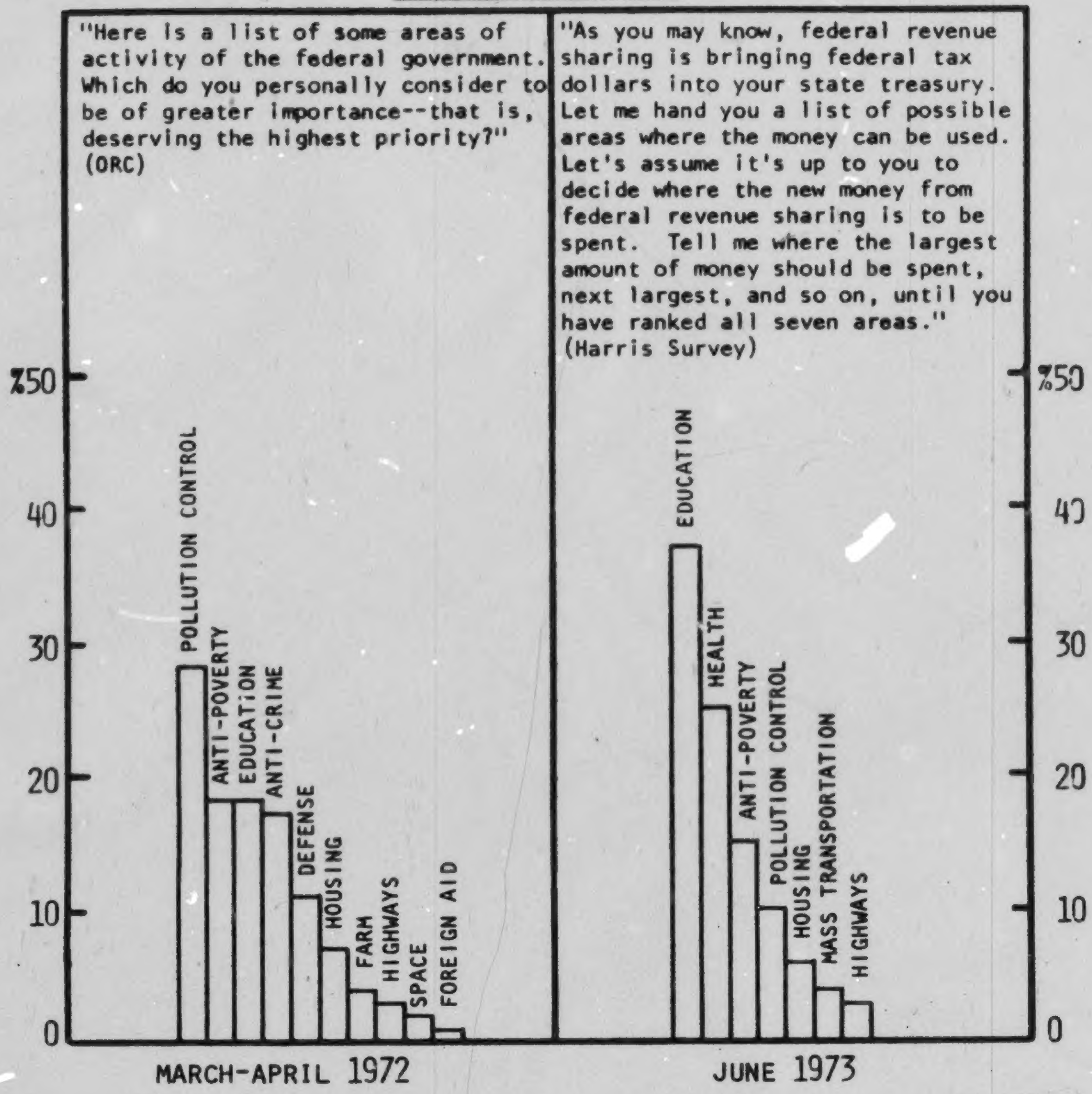
FIRST CHOICE
TOP TEN
%40
30
20
10
0
40%
POVERTY
ARMAMENTS
AGRICULTURE
CONSTRUCTION
THE NAVY
THE AIR FORCE
PROVIDING WORK RELIEF
PROVIDING OLD-AGE PENSIONS
SLUM CLEARANCE AND BETTER HOUSING
TRAINING SKILLED LABOR
REFORESTATION AND SOIL CONSERVATION
FLOOD CONTROL
THE ARMY
SUBSIDIZING FARMERS
PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS
REDUCE GOVERNMENT DEBT
EDUCATION (NON-BUILDING)
BUILD SCHOOLS, HIGHWAYS
REDUCE INCOME TAXES
INCREASE FOREIGN AID
OTHER
UNCERTAIN, NOT ASCERTAINED
APRIL 1940
APRIL 1940
OCTOBER 1960
MAY 1963



PROGRAM PRIORITIES

"Which three of these national problems would you like to see the government devote most of its attention to in the next year or two?" (AIPO)

PROGRAM PRIORITIES



"Here is a list of some areas of activity of the federal government. Which do you personally consider to be of greater importance--that is, deserving the highest priority?" (ORC)

"As you may know, federal revenue sharing is bringing federal tax dollars into your state treasury. Let me hand you a list of possible areas where the money can be used. Let's assume it's up to you to decide where the new money from federal revenue sharing is to be spent. Tell me where the largest amount of money should be spent, next largest, and so on, until you have ranked all seven areas." (Harris Survey)

%50
40
30
20
10
0
POLLUTION CONTROL
ANTI-POVERTY
EDUCATION
ANTI-CRIME
DEFENSE
HOUSING
FARM
HIGHWAYS
SPACE
FOREIGN AID
MARCH-APRIL 1972
EDUCATION
HEALTH
ANTI-POVERTY
POLLUTION CONTROL
HOUSING
MASS TRANSPORTATION
HIGHWAYS
JUNE 1973

October 1960, May 1963: (SRC-Michigan)

"Some people say that there will be some disarmament and therefore our government will spend less on arms and defense. Suppose this is the case, what would you say should be done with the money saved?"

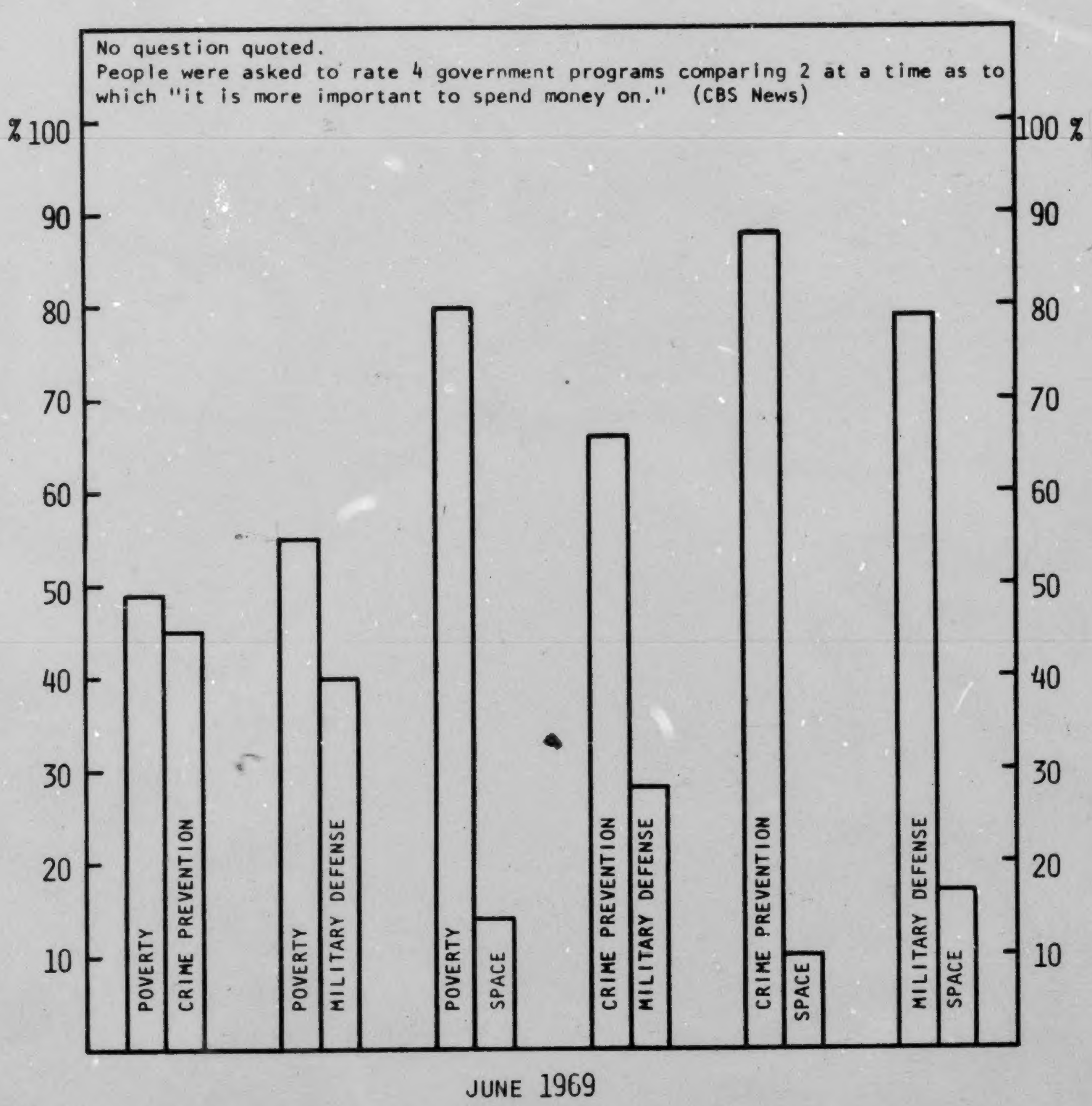
	1960 %	1963 %					
		ALL	-$3000	$3000	$4999	$7500	$10,000
Public welfare programs	18	20	27	23	27	15	14
Reduce government debt	13	14	11	13	13	18	22
Education (non-building)	10	13	10	12	15	17	17
Build schools, highways	10	10	7	12	11	11	11
Reduce income taxes	11	10	6	9	12	14	20
Increase foreign aid	3	3	1	2	3	3	3
Other	18	15	10	18	16	18	21
Uncertain, not ascertained	30	28	28	25	27	20	15

November 1970: (AIPO)

"When the new Congress takes office, which of these two things would you prefer to have it do, if you had to make a choice: (1) Try to improve the lot of poor people and try to get at the cause of social problems, or (2) give more support to the police and get tougher with lawbreakers?"

	Poor %	Police %	Don't Know %
National Total	38	59	3
White	36	61	3
Nonwhite	60	39	1
College	47	51	2
High school	36	62	2
Grade school	34	62	4
$15,000 and over	36	60	4
$10,000 - 14,999	29	69	2
$7,000 - 9,999	40	58	2
$5,000 - 6,999	35	63	2
$3,000 - 4,999	47	48	5
Under $3,000	52	47	1

RATING OF FOUR GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS



No question quoted.
People were asked to rate 4 government programs comparing 2 at a time as to which "it is more important to spend money on." (CBS News)

EQUALIZING THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

	National Total	Negroes	Economic Status	
			Upper	Lower
Roper for Fortune*				
"Do you believe that the government should allow a man who has investments worth over a million dollars to keep them, subject only to present taxes?"				
1935: July				
Yes	45%	61%	70%	29%
No	46	26	22	60
No opinion	9	13	9	11
Roper for Fortune*				
"Do you think that our government should or should not redistribute wealth by heavy taxes on the rich?"				
1939: June				
Should	35	44	17	46
Should not	54	37	76	40
Don't know	11	20	7	14
Roper for Fortune*				
"Do you think that our government should or should not confiscate all wealth over and above what people actually need to live on decently, and use it for the public good?"				
1939: June				
Should	16	31	5	24
Should not	76	51	92	66
Don't know	8	18	4	9

---

*Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Negro Finances," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, (Summer 1969), p. 280.

EQUALIZING THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH(cont'd)

May 1971: (ORC--Feagin)*

"Some people have suggested that every family in this country should receive the same income, about $10,000 or so. Would you personally favor or oppose such an idea?

	National %
Favor	13
Oppose	80
Can't say, not sure, other	7

	Favor %
White Protestant	9
White Catholic	17
Black Protestant	25
Jews	4
White	11
Black	27
Other nonwhite	22
Northeast	16
North Central	14
South	13
West	8

	Favor %
Under 30 years	11
30-49 years	15
50 years and over	13
Under $5,000	13
$4,000-5,999	17
$6,000-9,999	16
$10,000 or more	7
6th grade or less	24
7th-11th grade	17
12th grade, technical	12
Some college or more	3

September 1972: (Harris)

"Senator McGovern has proposed to eliminate the present welfare system and instead to give each individual in the population $1,000. He would pay for this plan by sharply increasing taxes on people with incomes of $12,000 and over, as well as on corporations. Do you favor or oppose this substitute for the welfare system proposed by Senator McGovern?"

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
Total Voters	15%	73%	12%
McGovern voters	27	55	18

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*Feagin, pp. 62-66.

THEORY OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

May 1947: (AIPO)

"Which one of these statements do you most agree with? (1) The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own. (2) The most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent job and standard of living."

	(1)	(2)
National	50%	43%
Professional and business	67	28
White collar	57	38
Farmers	57	36
Manual workers	37	56
Union members	37	57
College	73	24
High school	57	39
Grade school	40	51
21-29 years	48	46
30-49 years	51	43
50 years and over	48	43
Republicans	60	35
Democrats	44	50

September 1947: (Roper--Fortune)

"If it looked as if we were going into another depression that would bring large-scale unemployment what do you think the government should do--see to it that people don't go hungry but let business and industry take the lead in solving the problem of unemployment or take full responsibility for seeing that there are enough jobs to go around and take whatever steps are necessary to accomplish this?

	National (%)
Let business and industry take the lead	43
Take full responsibility	45
Express no opinion	12

THEORY OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT (Cont'd)

1964: (SRC--Michigan)*

"In general, some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other? If yes, Do you think that the government:"

	National
Should let each get ahead on his own	43%
Every person should have a job and a good standard of living	31
Other, depends	11
Don't know, no interst	15

September-October 1964:

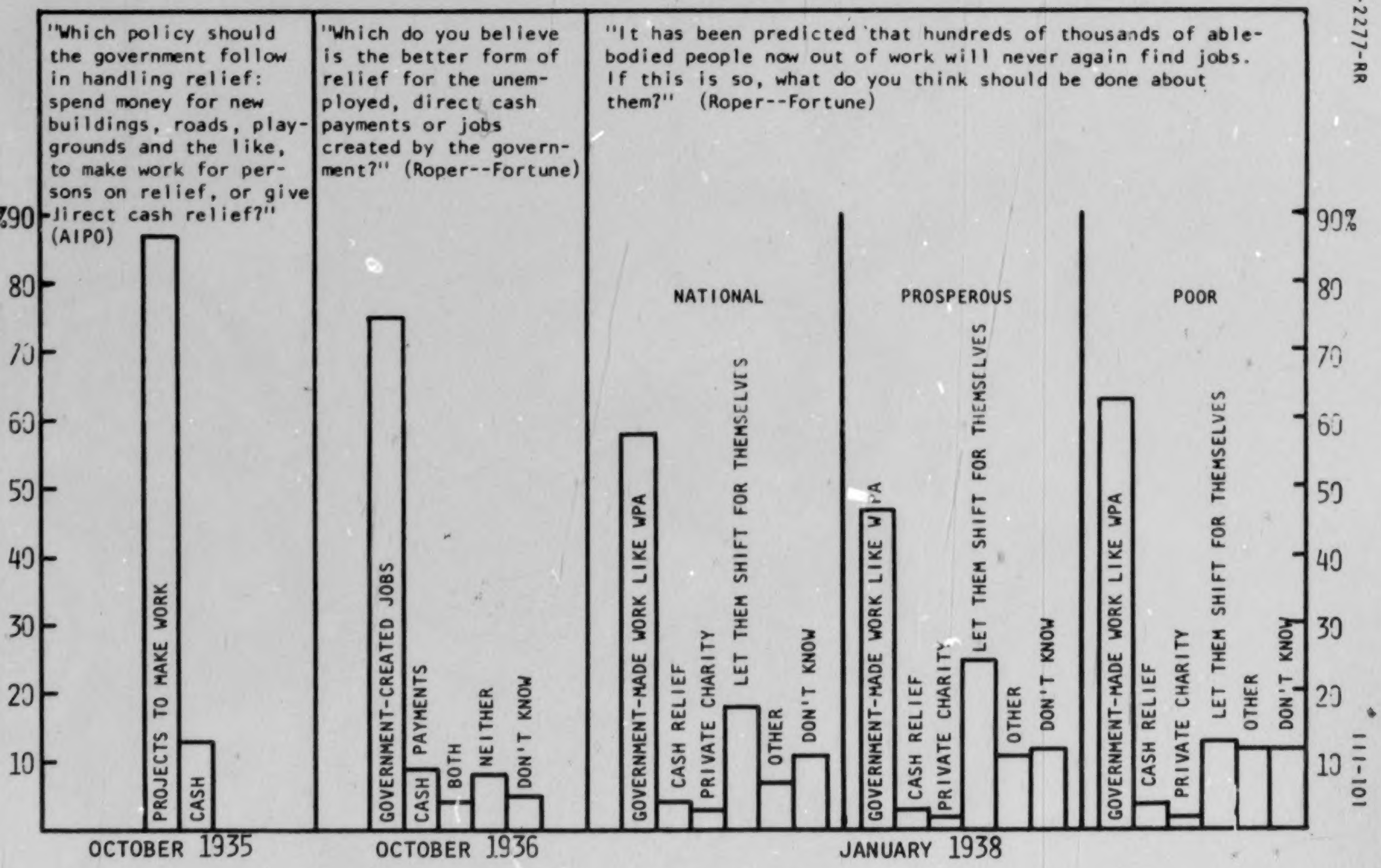
"Now, I'm going to read some things you sometimes hear people say, and ask whether, in general, you agree or disagree. We should rely more on individual initiative and ability and not so much on governmental welfare programs."

	National
Agree	79%
Disagree	12
Don't know	9

---

*John P. Robinson, Jerrold G. Rusk, Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 2nd Printing, July 1969), p. 523.

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF



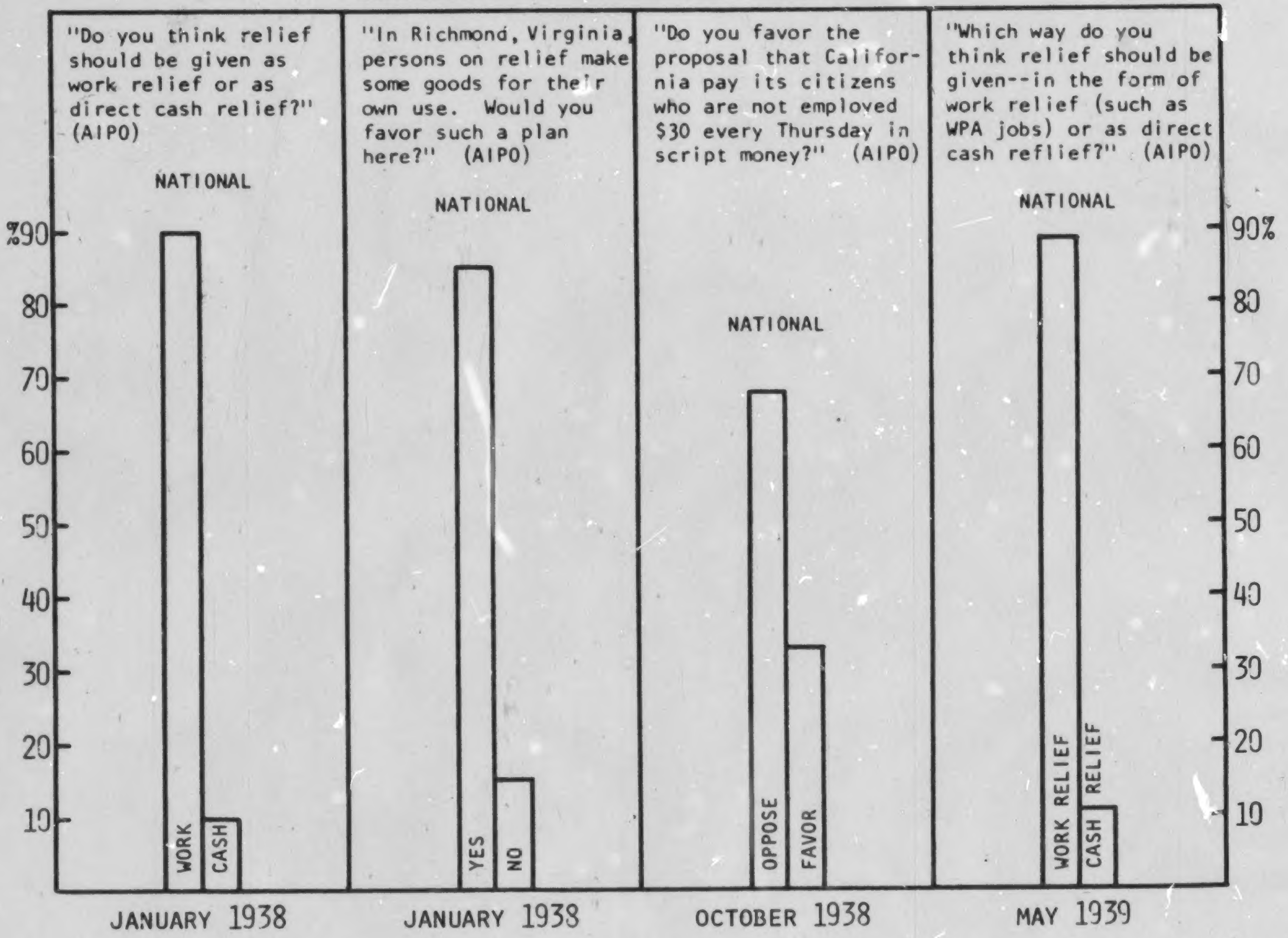
"Which policy should the government follow in handling relief: spend money for new buildings, roads, playgrounds and the like, to make work for persons on relief, or give direct cash relief?" (AIPO)

"Which do you believe is the better form of relief for the unemployed, direct cash payments or jobs created by the government?" (Roper--Fortune)

"It has been predicted that hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people now out of work will never again find jobs. If this is so, what do you think should be done about them?" (Roper--Fortune)

%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
90%
PROJECTS TO MAKE WORK
CASH
OCTOBER 1935
GOVERNMENT-CREATED JOBS
CASH PAYMENTS
BOTH
NEITHER
DON'T KNOW
OCTOBER 1936
NATIONAL
PROSPEROUS
POOR
GOVERNMENT-MADE WORK LIKE WPA
CASH RELIEF
PRIVATE CHARITY
LET THEM SHIFT FOR THEMSELVES
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
JANUARY 1938

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF



"Do you think relief should be given as work relief or as direct cash relief?" (AIPO)

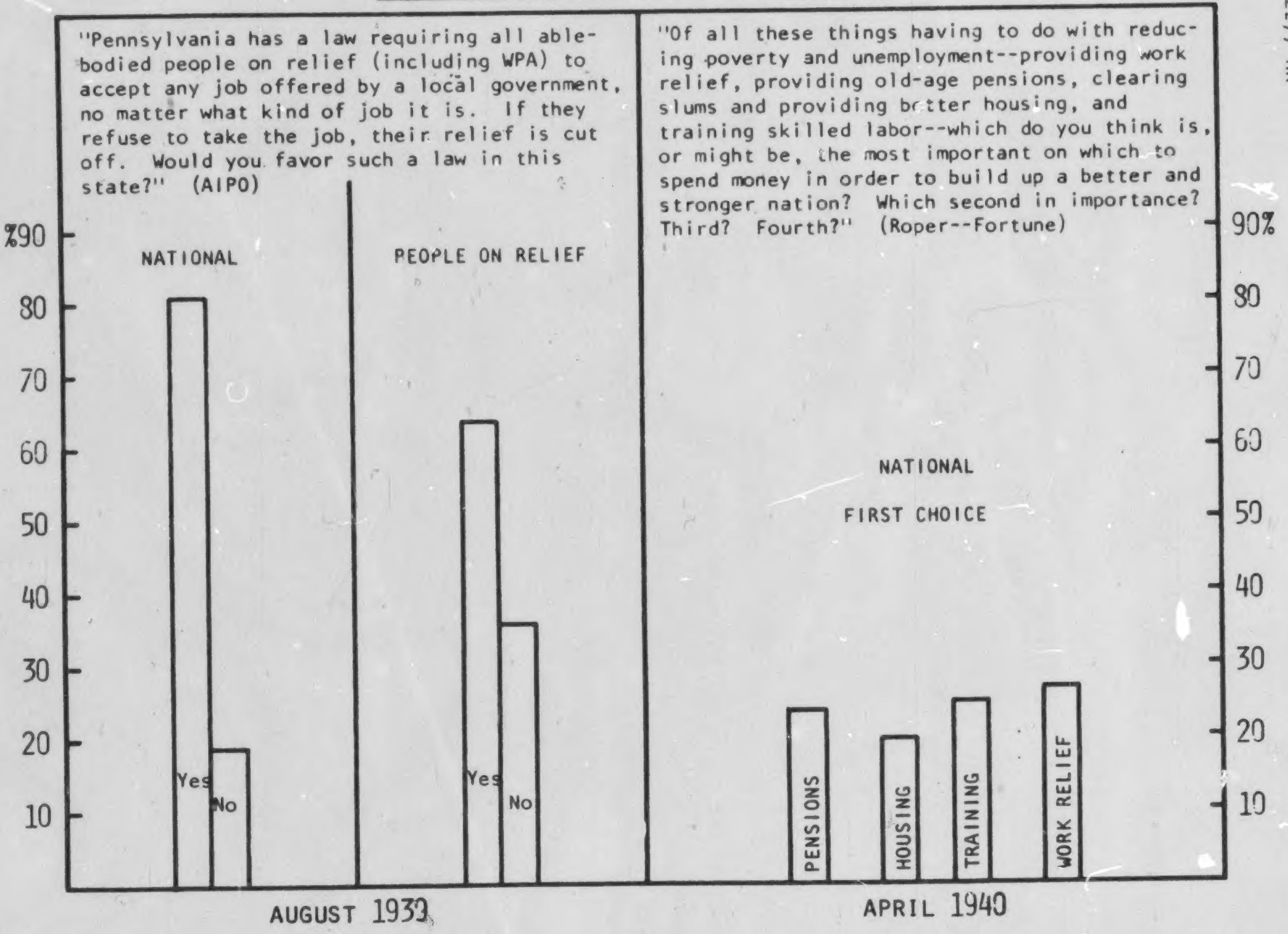
"In Richmond, Virginia, persons on relief make some goods for their own use. Would you favor such a plan here?" (AIPO)

"Do you favor the proposal that California pay its citizens who are not employed $30 every Thursday in script money?" (AIPO)

"Which way do you think relief should be given--in the form of work relief (such as WPA jobs) or as direct cash reflief?" (AIPO)

NATIONAL
NATIONAL
NATIONAL
NATIONAL
%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
90%
WORK
CASH
YES
NO
OPPOSE
FAVOR
WORK RELIEF
CASH RELIEF
JANUARY 1938
JANUARY 1938
OCTOBER 1938
MAY 1939

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF

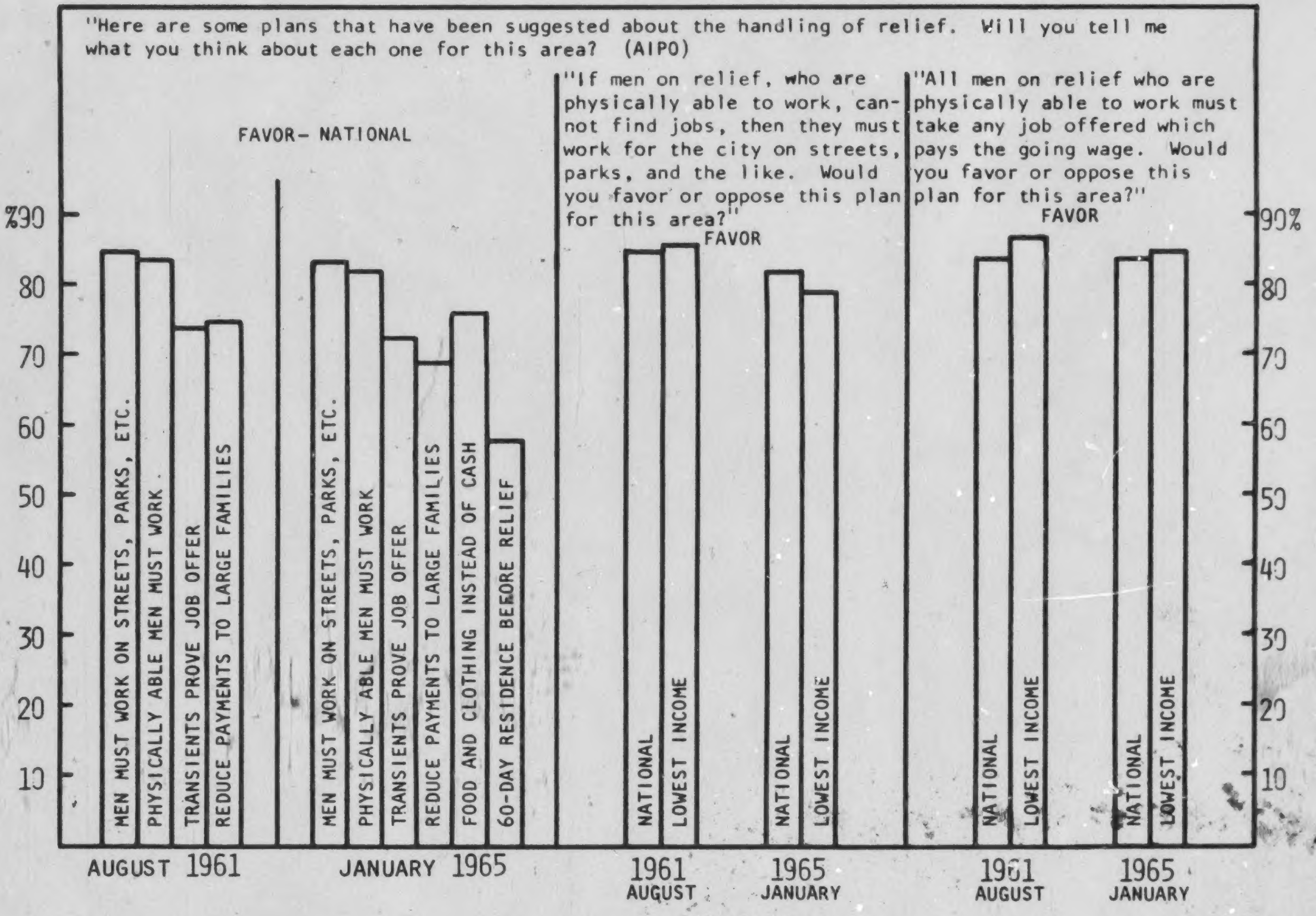


"Pennsylvania has a law requiring all able-bodied people on relief (including WPA) to accept any job offered by a local government, no matter what kind of job it is. If they refuse to take the job, their relief is cut off. Would you favor such a law in this state?" (AIPO)

"Of all these things having to do with reducing poverty and unemployment--providing work relief, providing old-age pensions, clearing slums and providing better housing, and training skilled labor--which do you think is, or might be, the most important on which to spend money in order to build up a better and stronger nation? Which second in importance? Third? Fourth?" (Roper--Fortune)

%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
NATIONAL
Yes
No
PEOPLE ON RELIEF
Yes
No
AUGUST 1939
NATIONAL
FIRST CHOICE
PENSIONS
HOUSING
TRAINING
WORK RELIEF
APRIL 1940
90%
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF



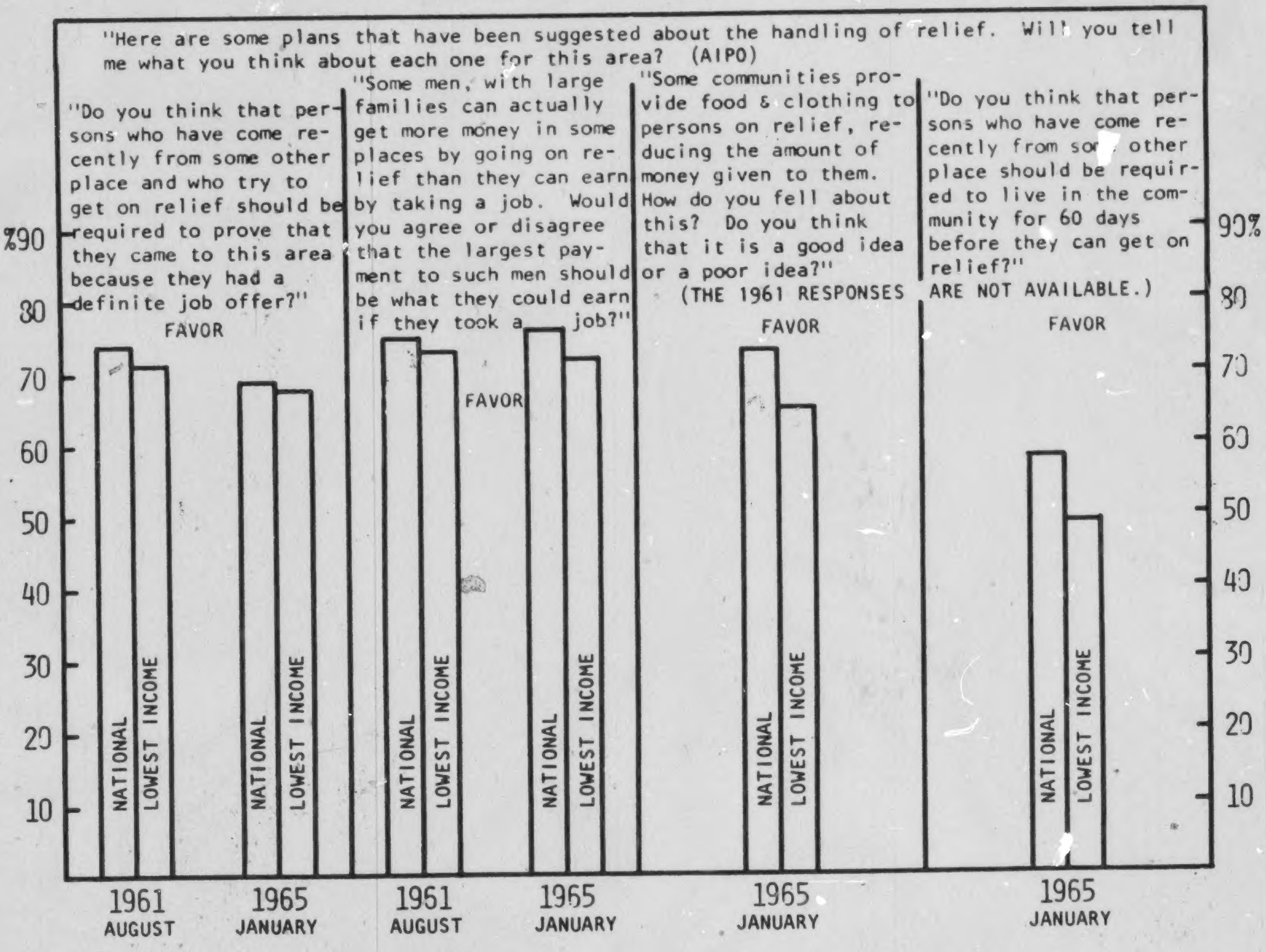
"Here are some plans that have been suggested about the handling of relief. Will you tell me what you think about each one for this area? (AIPO)

"If men on relief, who are physically able to work, cannot find jobs, then they must work for the city on streets, parks, and the like. Would you favor or oppose this plan for this area?"

"All men on relief who are physically able to work must take any job offered which pays the going wage. Would you favor or oppose this plan for this area?"

FAVOR- NATIONAL
FAVOR
FAVOR
%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
90%
MEN MUST WORK ON STREETS, PARKS, ETC.
PHYSICALLY ABLE MEN MUST WORK
TRANSIENTS PROVE JOB OFFER
REDUCE PAYMENTS TO LARGE FAMILIES
AUGUST 1961
MEN MUST WORK ON STREETS, PARKS, ETC.
PHYSICALLY ABLE MEN MUST WORK
TRANSIENTS PROVE JOB OFFER
REDUCE PAYMENTS TO LARGE FAMILIES
FOOD AND CLOTHING INSTEAD OF CASH
60-DAY RESIDENCE BEFORE RELIEF
JANUARY 1965
NATIONAL
LOWEST INCOME
1961 AUGUST
NATIONAL
LOWEST INCOME
1965 JANUARY
NATIONAL
LOWEST INCOME
1961 AUGUST
NATIONAL
LOWEST INCOME
1965 JANUARY

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF



"Here are some plans that have been suggested about the handling of relief. Will you tell me what you think about each one for this area? (AIPO)

"Do you think that persons who have come recently from some other place and who try to get on relief should be required to prove that they came to this area because they had a definite job offer?"

"Some men, with large families can actually get more money in some places by going on relief than they can earn by taking a job. Would you agree or disagree that the largest payment to such men should be what they could earn if they took a job?"

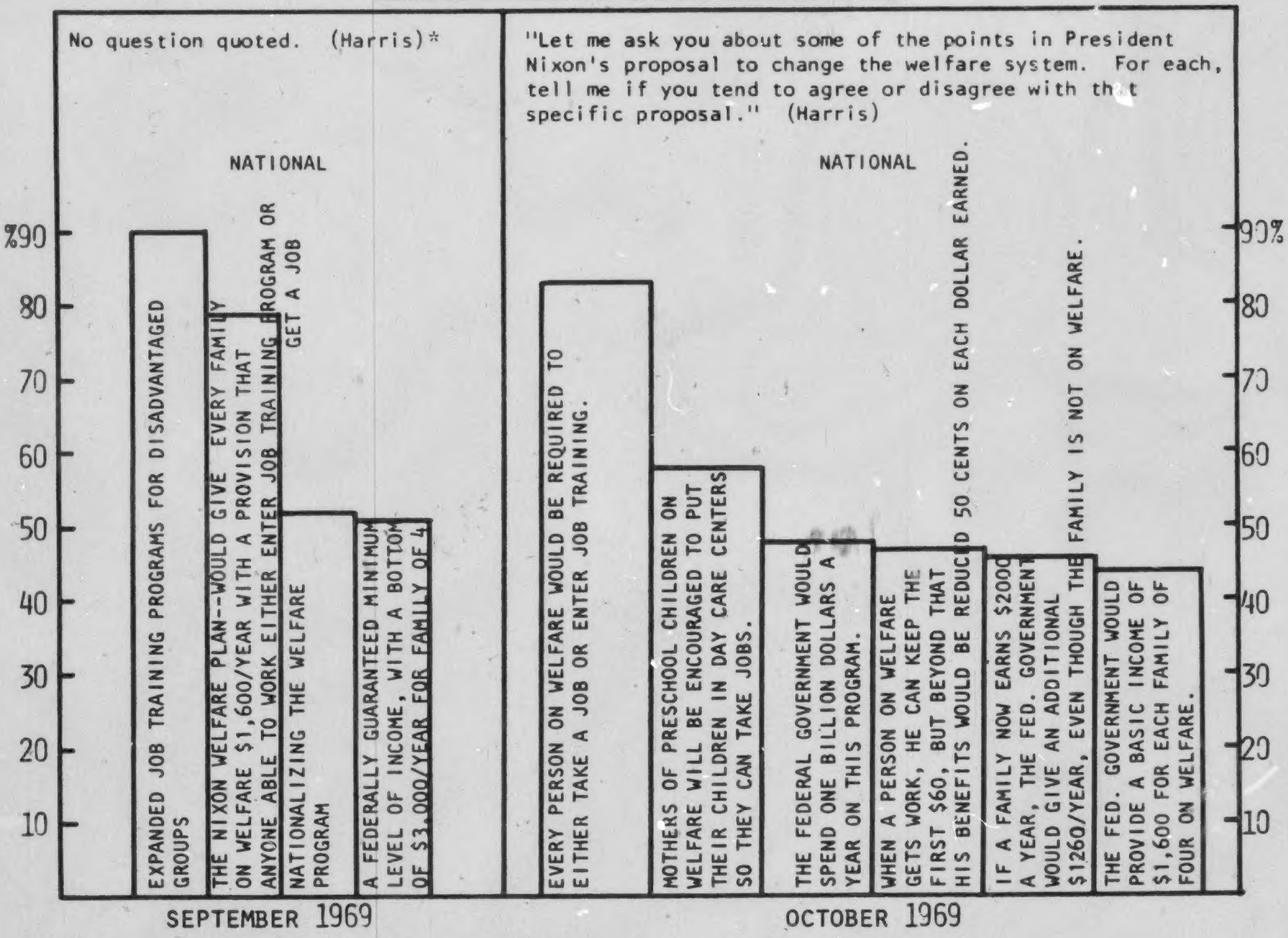
"Some communities provide food & clothing to persons on relief, reducing the amount of money given to them. How do you fell about this? Do you think that it is a good idea or a poor idea?"

"Do you think that persons who have come recently from so other place should be required to live in the community for 60 days before they can get on relief?"

(THE 1961 RESPONSES ARE NOT AVAILABLE.)

%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
90%
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
FAVOR
FAVOR
FAVOR
FAVOR
NATIONAL
LOWEST INCOME
1961 AUGUST
1965 JANUARY
1961 AUGUST
1965 JANUARY
1965 JANUARY
1965 JANUARY

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF

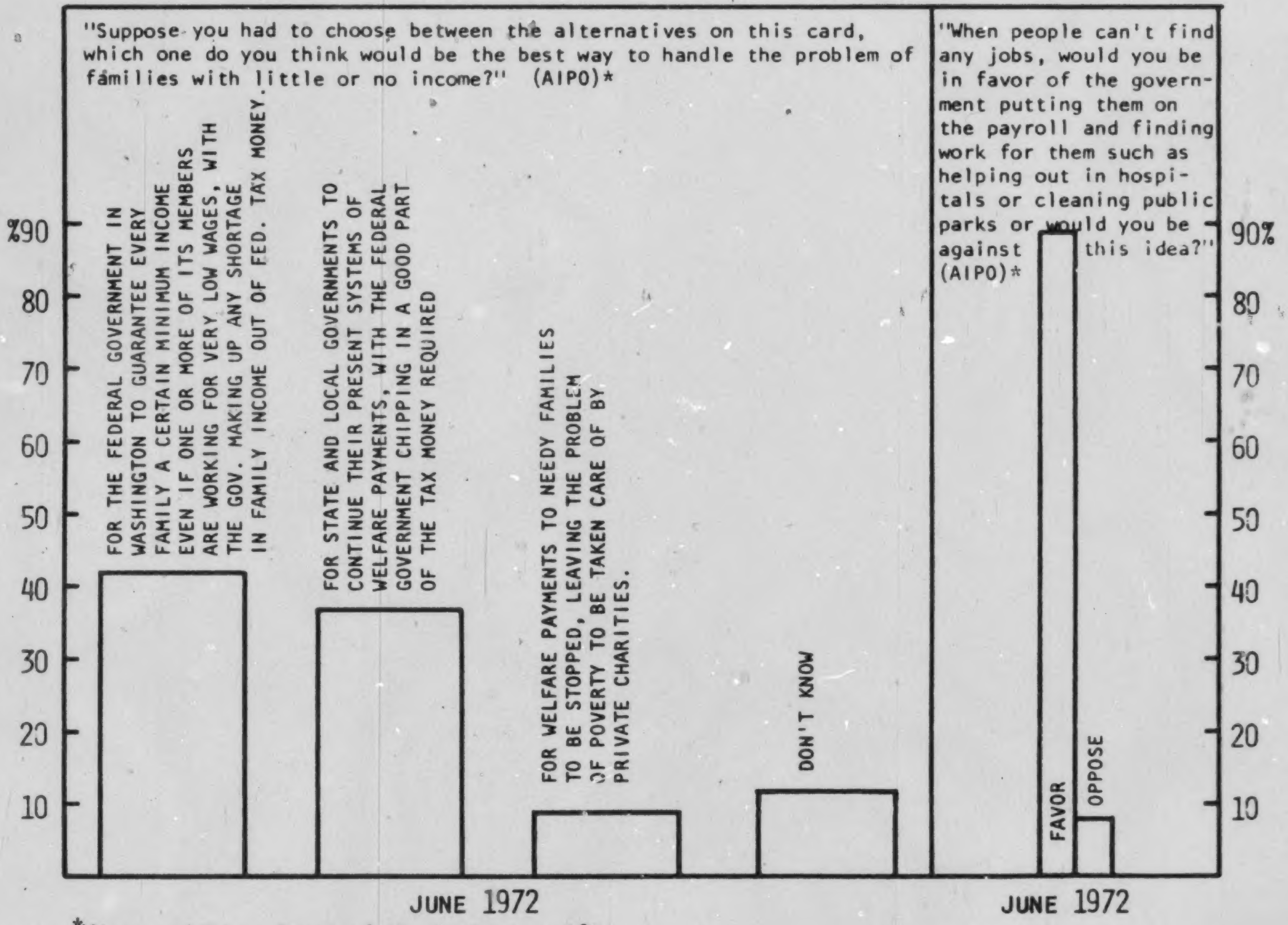


No question quoted. (Harris)*

"Let me ask you about some of the points in President Nixon's proposal to change the welfare system. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that specific proposal." (Harris)

*Harris Survey in Life, September 1969.

PREFERRED FORM OF WELFARE AND RELIEF



"Suppose you had to choose between the alternatives on this card, which one do you think would be the best way to handle the problem of families with little or no income?" (AIPO)*

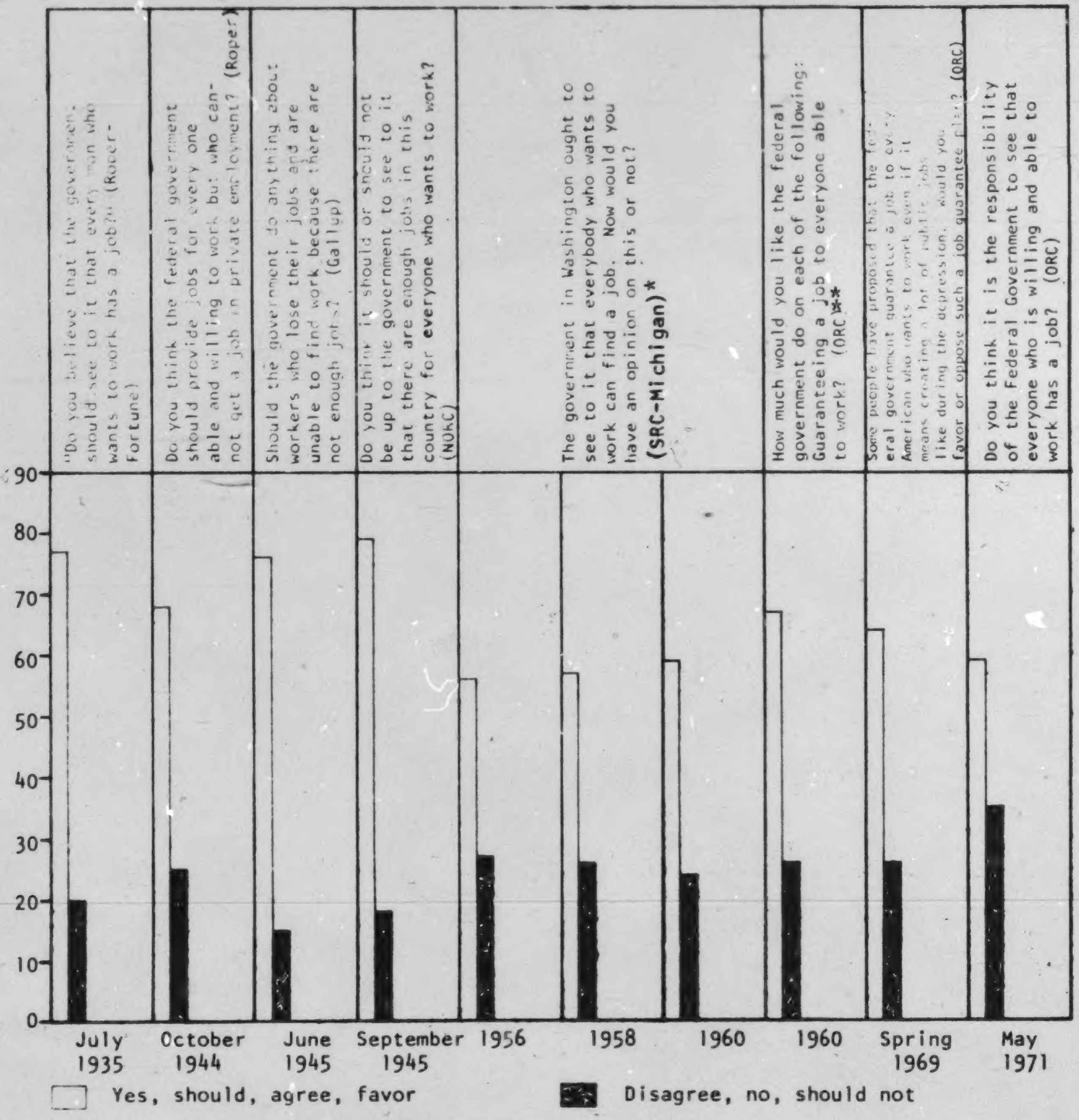
"When people can't find any jobs, would you be in favor of the government putting them on the payroll and finding work for them such as helping out in hospitals or cleaning public parks or would you be against this idea?" (AIPO)*

%90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON TO GUARANTEE EVERY FAMILY A CERTAIN MINIMUM INCOME EVEN IF ONE OR MORE OF ITS MEMBERS ARE WORKING FOR VERY LOW WAGES, WITH THE GOV. MAKING UP ANY SHORTAGE IN FAMILY INCOME OUT OF FED. TAX MONEY.
FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE THEIR PRESENT SYSTEMS OF WELFARE PAYMENTS, WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CHIPPING IN A GOOD PART OF THE TAX MONEY REQUIRED
FOR WELFARE PAYMENTS TO NEEDY FAMILIES TO BE STOPPED, LEAVING THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY TO BE TAKEN CARE OF BY PRIVATE CHARITIES.
DON'T KNOW
JUNE 1972
FAVOR
OPPOSE
90%
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
JUNE 1972

*Watts and Free, State of the Nation, p. 287.

WORK--GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

NATIONAL RESPONSES



*The favorable response in the SRC survey in 1956 is a combination of "agree strongly" and "agree but not very strongly." The unfavorable response combines "disagree strongly" and "disagree but not very strongly." In the 1958 and 1960 SRC surveys the agree responses are a combination of "agree strongly" and "agree not strongly" and the unfavorable ones combine "disagree strongly" and "disagree not strongly."

**The favorable response in the 1960 ORC survey is "great deal or fair amount"; the unfavorable one, "very little or nothing."

GUARANTEED WORK

Question: "This card lists positions that the candidates will be taking during the coming presidential campaign. As I read off the letter next to each position, will you tell me whether you would be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate who took that position?" GUARANTEEING A JOB AT A FAIR WAGE FOR EVERY EMPLOYABLE PERSON.*

National Response (%)

	1972
More	80
Less	12
No opinion	8

*Gallup Opinion Index, September, 1972.

EMPLOYMENT RESPONSIBILITY AFTER JOB ELIMINATION

Question: "When an employee's job is eliminated by automation, who has the prime responsibility to find some other employment for him--the company, the federal government, labor unions or the employee himself?"*

National Response (%)

	1964
Company	24
Government	5
Union	15
Employee	46
All	10
No opinion	8

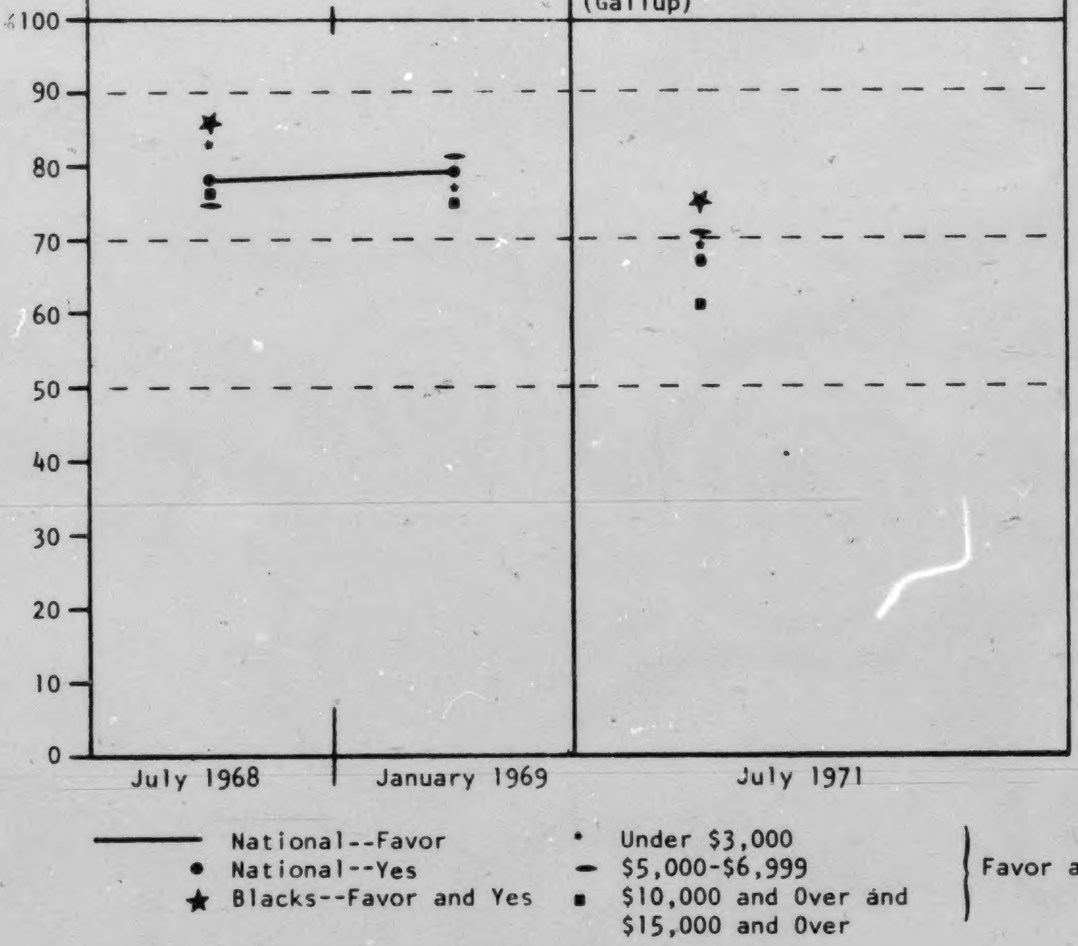
*Opinion Research Center, May 1964.

GUARANTEED WORK

NATIONAL, BLACK AND INCOME RESPONSES--FAVOR

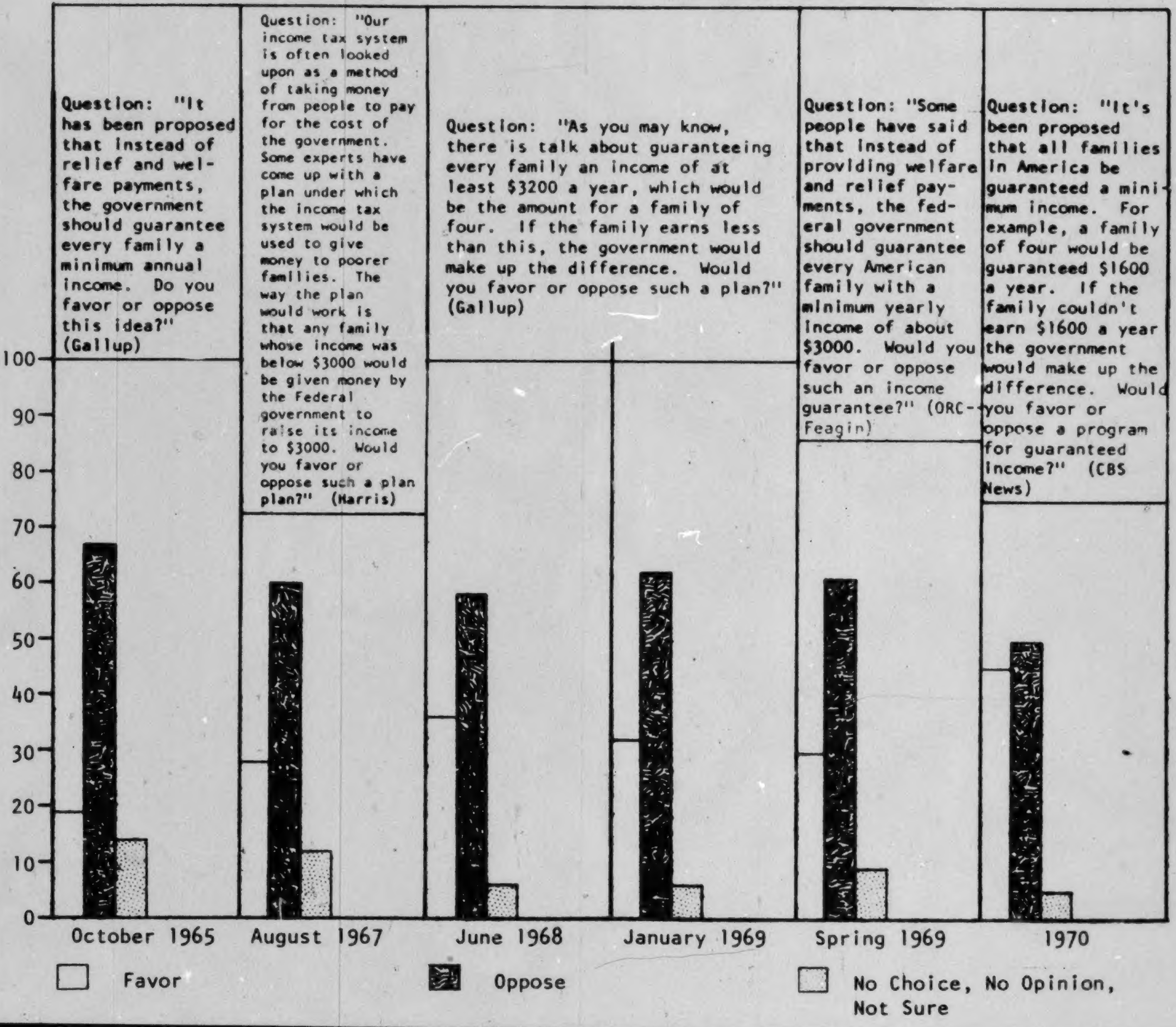
Another proposal is to guarantee enough work so that each family that has an employable wage earner be guaranteed enough work each week to give him a wage of about $60 a week or $3200 a year. Would you favor or oppose such a plan? (Gallup)*

It is suggested that large firms (those employing more than 20 persons) be required to hire a certain small percentage of persons who are now on relief. In return the government would pay three-quarters of the salary of these persons for the first year. Companies that hire persons from the welfare roles would give them any work available and at the going wage for these jobs. If they refuse to accept this work, they would lose their welfare payments. Would you like to have the government adopt this plan, or not? (Gallup)



*Gallup Opinion Index, July 1968, January 1969, July 1971.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME--NATIONAL RESPONSE



October 1965 — Question: "It has been proposed that instead of relief and welfare payments, the government should guarantee every family a minimum annual income. Do you favor or oppose this idea?" (Gallup)

August 1967 — Question: "Our income tax system is often looked upon as a method of taking money from people to pay for the cost of the government. Some experts have come up with a plan under which the income tax system would be used to give money to poorer families. The way the plan would work is that any family whose income was below $3000 would be given money by the Federal government to raise its income to $3000. Would you favor or oppose such a plan plan?" (Harris)

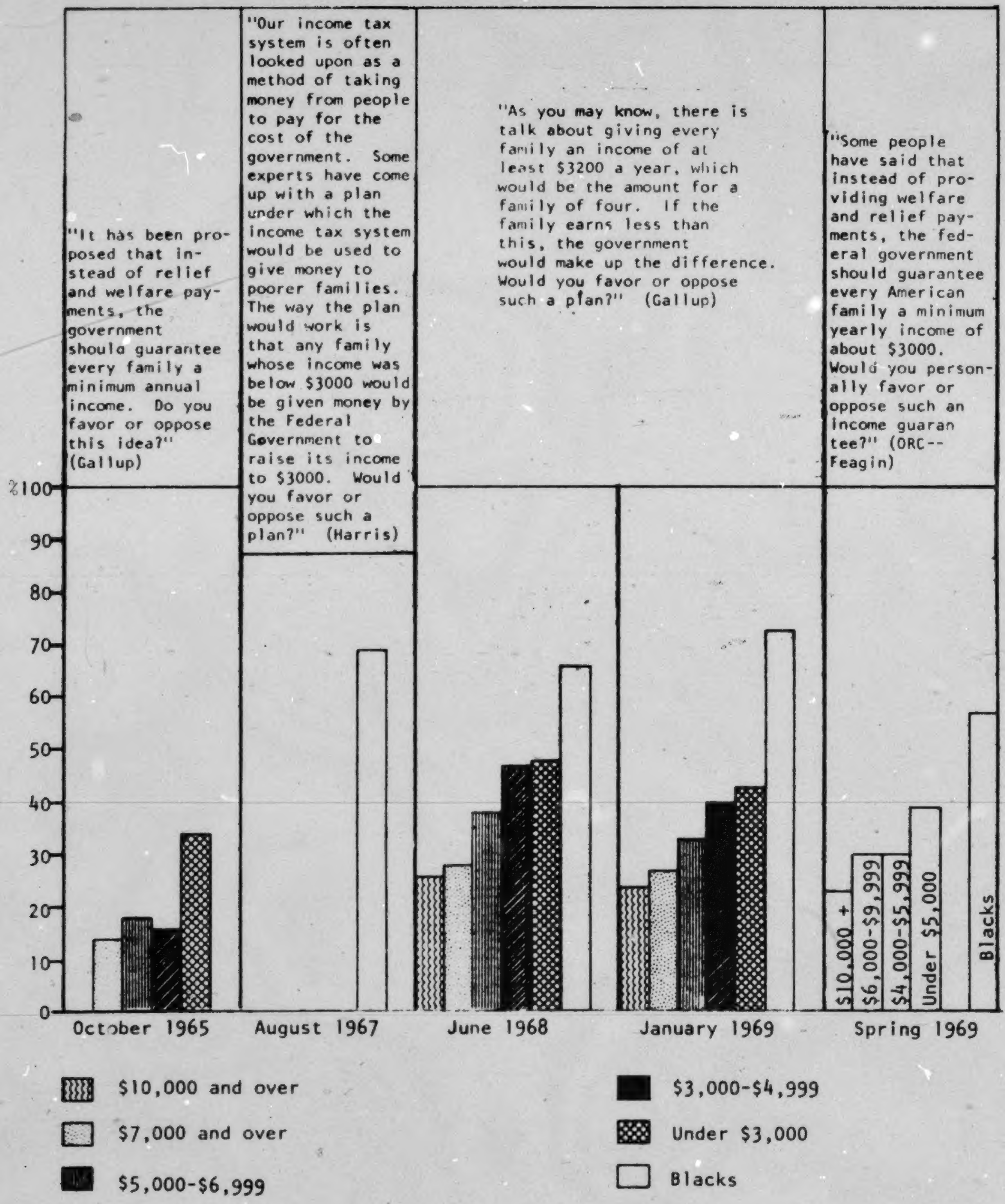
June 1968 and January 1969 — Question: "As you may know, there is talk about guaranteeing every family an income of at least $3200 a year, which would be the amount for a family of four. If the family earns less than this, the government would make up the difference. Would you favor or oppose such a plan?" (Gallup)

Spring 1969 — Question: "Some people have said that instead of providing welfare and relief payments, the federal government should guarantee every American family with a minimum yearly income of about $3000. Would you favor or oppose such an income guarantee?" (ORC--Feagin)

1970 — Question: "It's been proposed that all families in America be guaranteed a minimum income. For example, a family of four would be guaranteed $1600 a year. If the family couldn't earn $1600 a year the government would make up the difference. Would you favor or oppose a program for guaranteed income?" (CBS News)

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

INCOME AND BLACK RESPONSE--FAVOR



"It has been proposed that instead of relief and welfare payments, the government should guarantee every family a minimum annual income. Do you favor or oppose this idea?" (Gallup)

"Our income tax system is often looked upon as a method of taking money from people to pay for the cost of the government. Some experts have come up with a plan under which the income tax system would be used to give money to poorer families. The way the plan would work is that any family whose income was below $3000 would be given money by the Federal Government to raise its income to $3000. Would you favor or oppose such a plan?" (Harris)

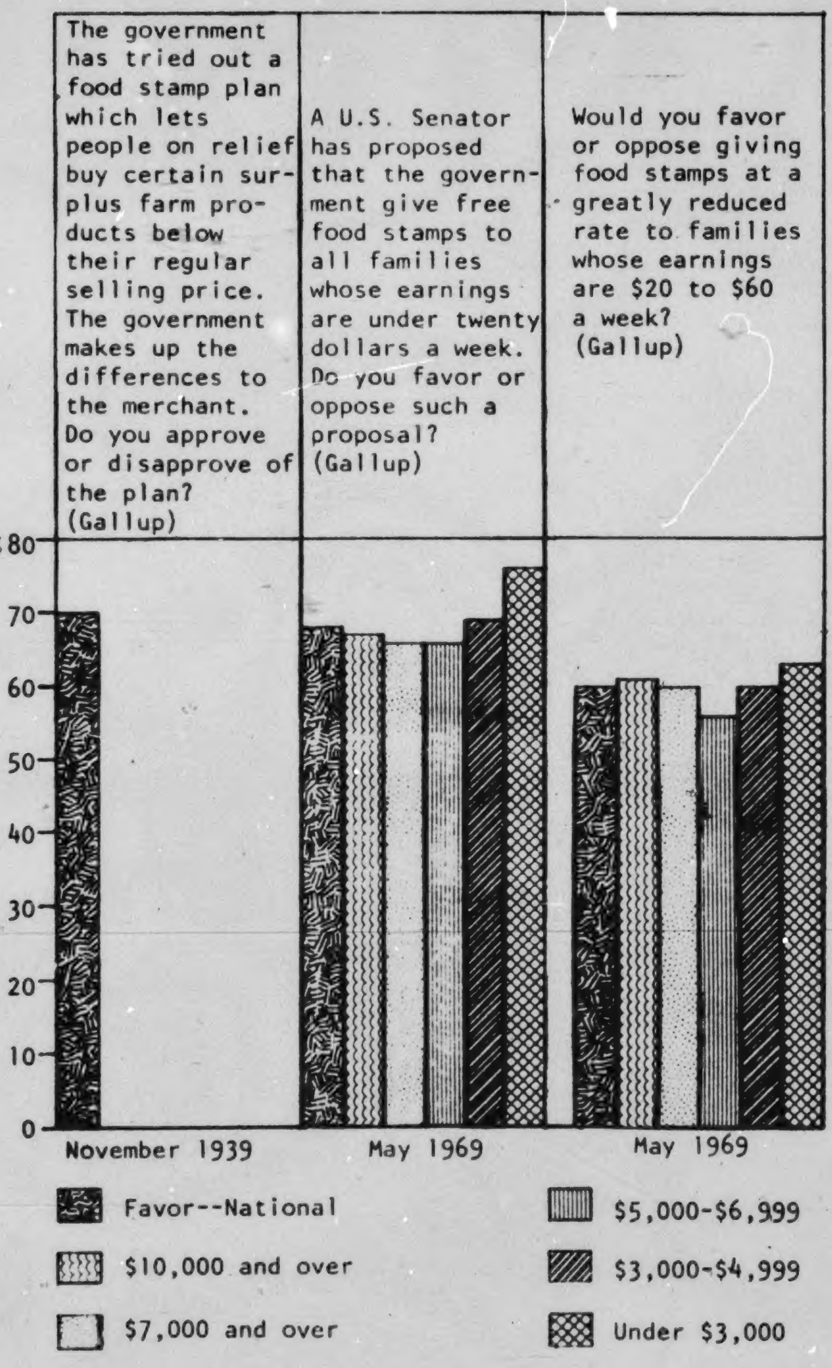
"As you may know, there is talk about giving every family an income of at least $3200 a year, which would be the amount for a family of four. If the family earns less than this, the government would make up the difference. Would you favor or oppose such a plan?" (Gallup)

"Some people have said that instead of providing welfare and relief payments, the federal government should guarantee every American family a minimum yearly income of about $3000. Would you personally favor or oppose such an income guarantee?" (ORC--Feagin)

%100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
October 1965
August 1967
June 1968
January 1969
Spring 1969
$10,000 +
$6,000-$9,999
$4,000-$5,999
Under $5,000
Blacks
▨ $10,000 and over
▨ $7,000 and over
■ $5,000-$6,999
■ $3,000-$4,999
▨ Under $3,000
☐ Blacks

FOOD STAMP PLAN

NATIONAL AND INCOME RESPONSES--FAVOR



The government has tried out a food stamp plan which lets people on relief buy certain surplus farm products below their regular selling price. The government makes up the differences to the merchant. Do you approve or disapprove of the plan? (Gallup)

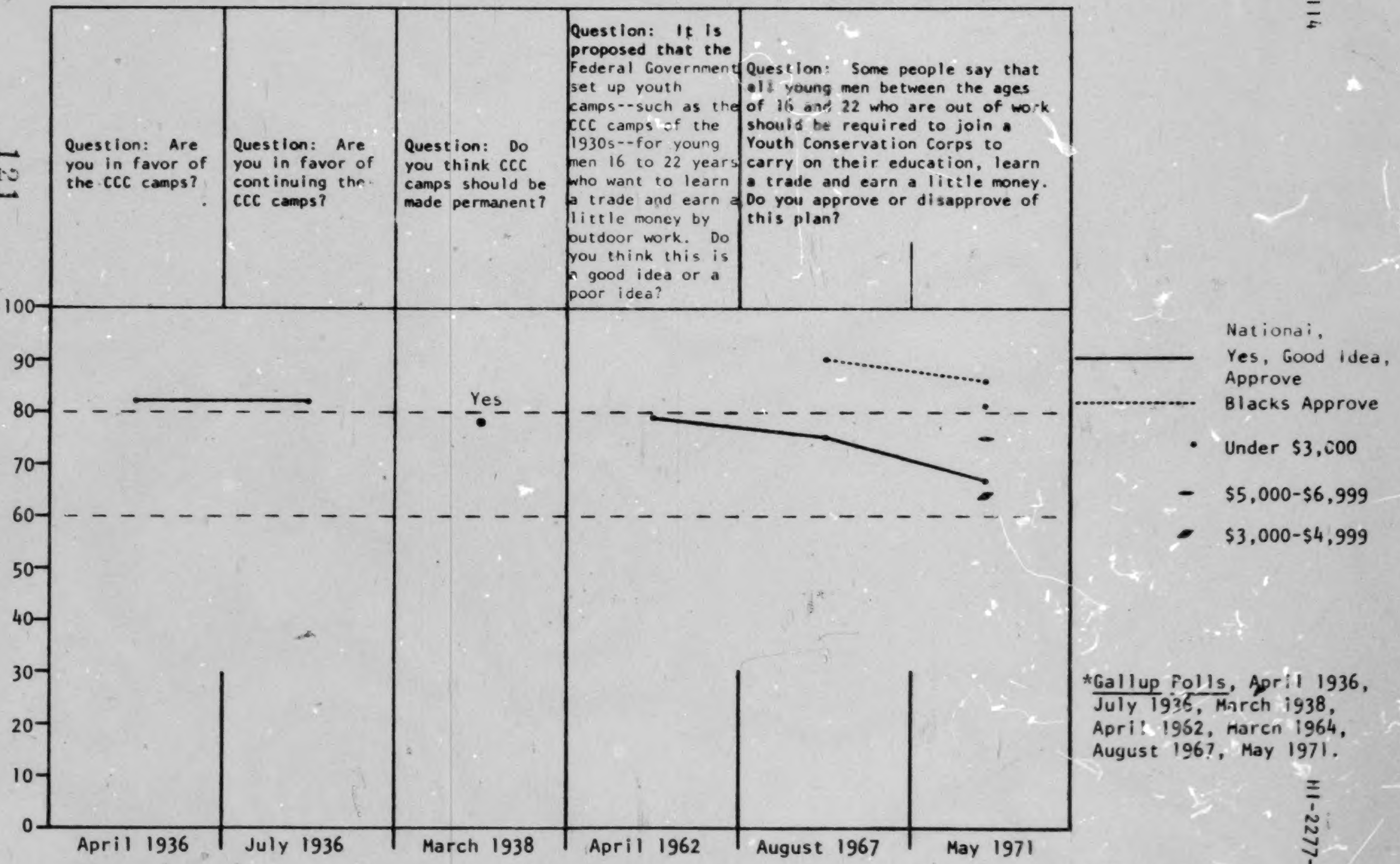
A U.S. Senator has proposed that the government give free food stamps to all families whose earnings are under twenty dollars a week. Do you favor or oppose such a proposal? (Gallup)

Would you favor or oppose giving food stamps at a greatly reduced rate to families whose earnings are $20 to $60 a week? (Gallup)

%80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
November 1939
May 1969
May 1969
Favor--National
$10,000 and over
$7,000 and over
$5,000-$6,999
$3,000-$4,999
Under $3,000

CCC CAMPS

NATIONAL, BLACK AND LOW-INCOME RESPONSES--APPROVE



Question: Are you in favor of the CCC camps?

Question: Are you in favor of continuing the CCC camps?

Question: Do you think CCC camps should be made permanent?

Question: It is proposed that the Federal Government set up youth camps--such as the CCC camps of the 1930s--for young men 16 to 22 years who want to learn a trade and earn a little money by outdoor work. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea?

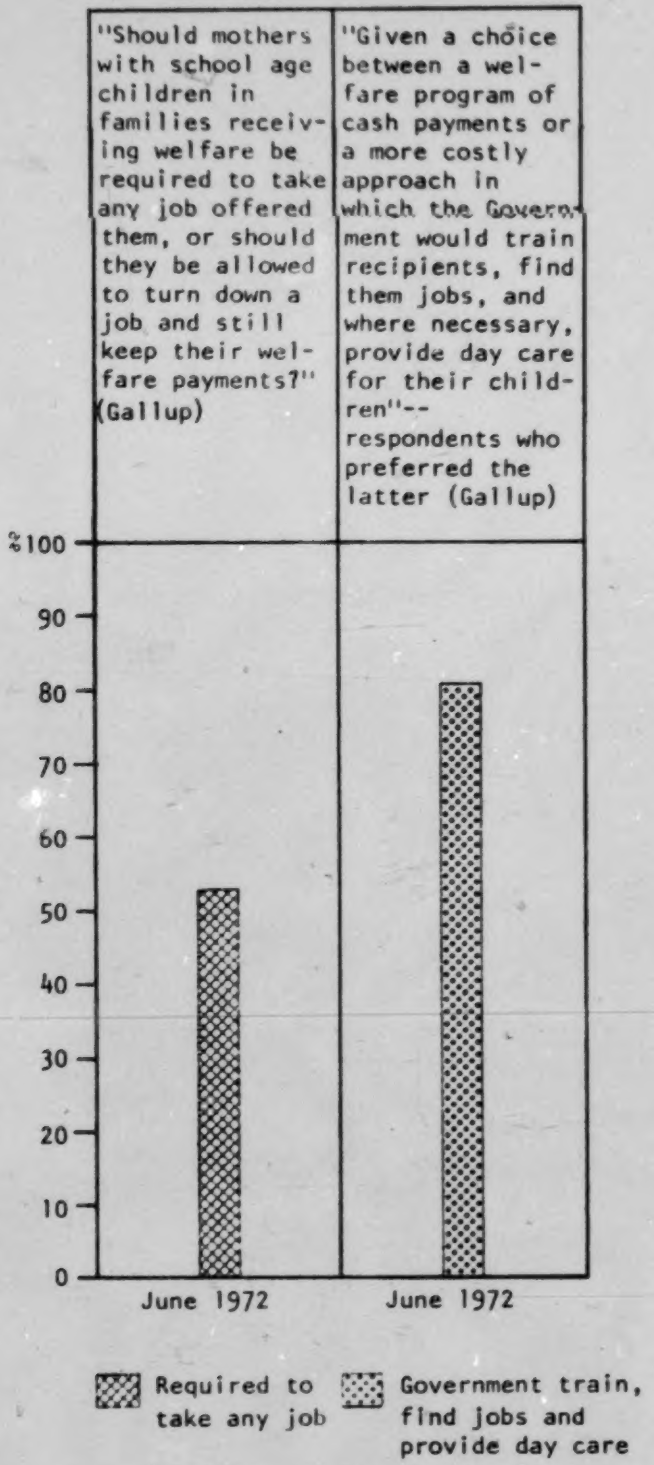
Question: Some people say that all young men between the ages of 16 and 22 who are out of work should be required to join a Youth Conservation Corps to carry on their education, learn a trade and earn a little money. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan?

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Yes
April 1936
July 1936
March 1938
April 1962
August 1967
May 1971
National, Yes, Good Idea, Approve
Blacks Approve
Under $3,000
$5,000-$6,999
$3,000-$4,999

*Gallup Polls, April 1936, July 1936, March 1938, April 1962, March 1964, August 1967, May 1971.

WELFARE MOTHERS AND JOBS

NATIONAL RESPONSE*



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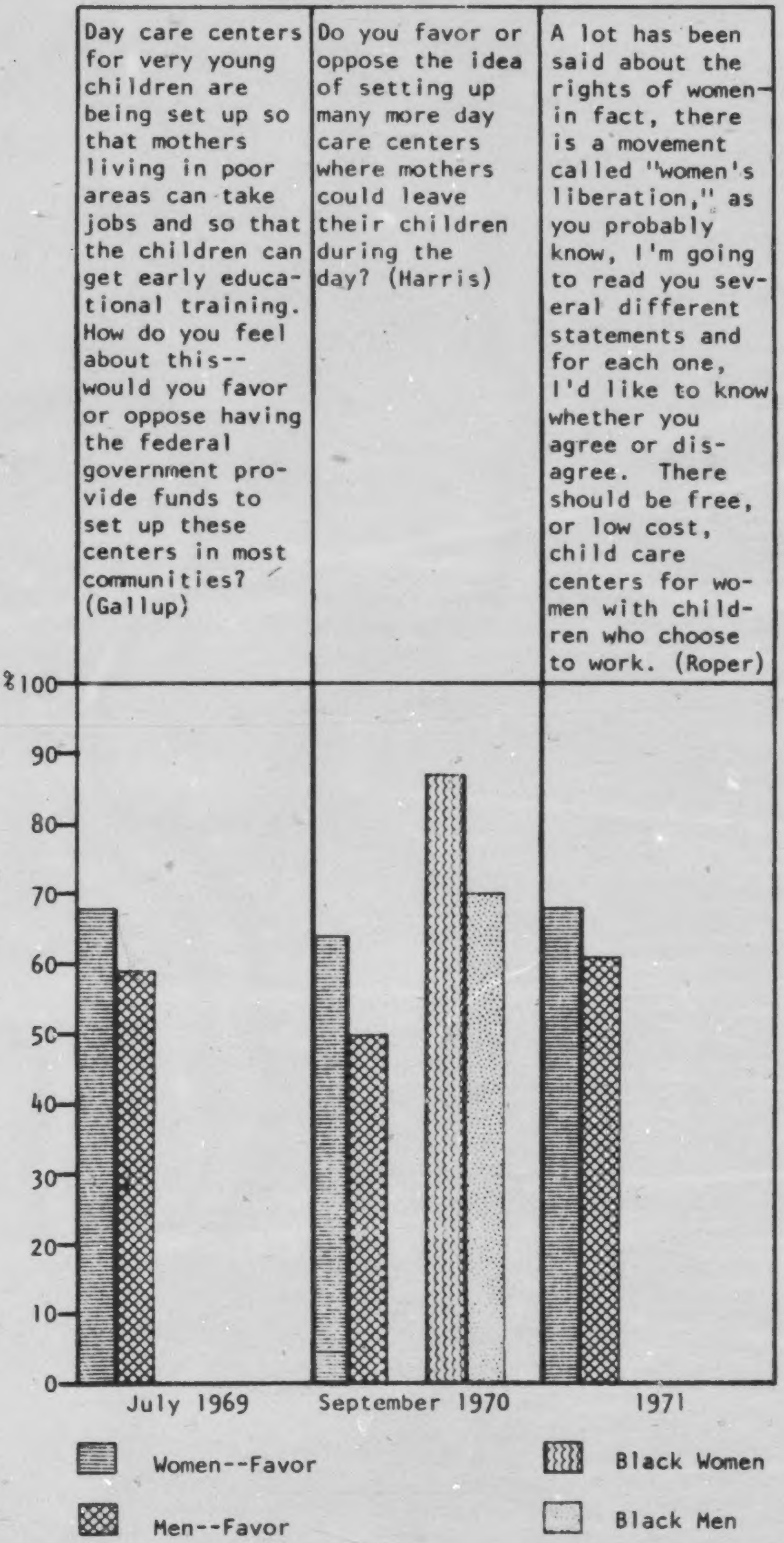
*Gallup polls as reported in Watts and Free, eds., State of the Nation, p. 288.

DAY CARE CENTERS--FAVORABLE RESPONSE BY SEX



Day care centers for very young children are being set up so that mothers living in poor areas can take jobs and so that the children can get early educational training. How do you feel about this--would you favor or oppose having the federal government provide funds to set up these centers in most communities? (Gallup)

Do you favor or oppose the idea of setting up many more day care centers where mothers could leave their children during the day? (Harris)

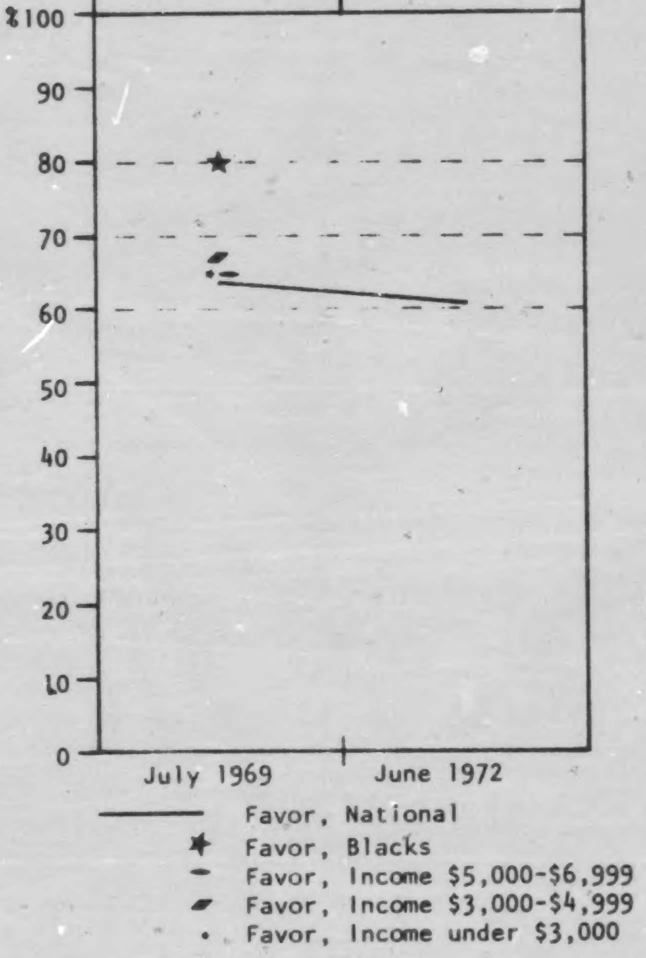
A lot has been said about the rights of women--in fact, there is a movement called "women's liberation," as you probably know, I'm going to read you several different statements and for each one, I'd like to know whether you agree or disagree. There should be free, or low cost, child care centers for women with children who choose to work. (Roper)

%100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
July 1969
September 1970
1971
Women--Favor
Men--Favor
Black Women
Black Men

DAY CARE CENTERS

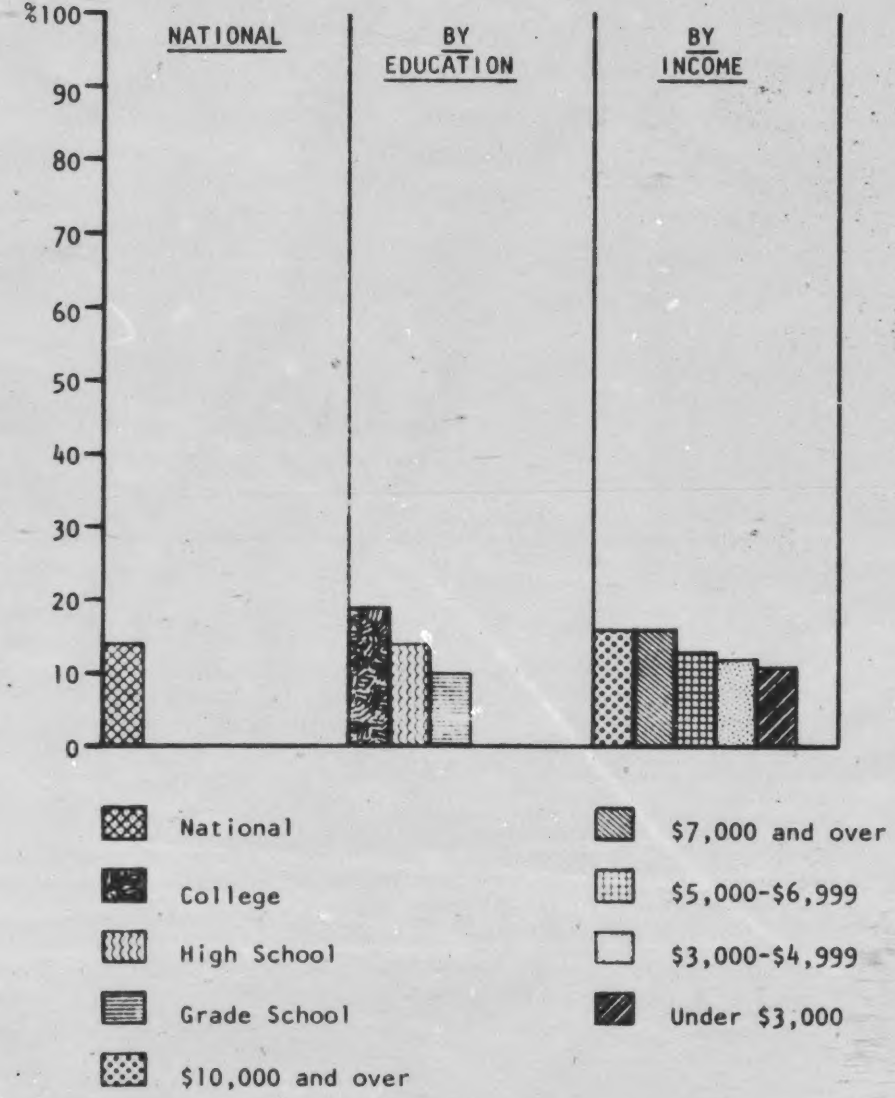
NATIONAL, BLACK AND INCOME RESPONSES

July 1969	June 1972
Day care centers for very young children are being set up so that mothers living in poor areas can take jobs and so that the children can get early educational training. How do you feel about this--would you favor or oppose having the federal government provide funds to set up these centers in most communities? (Gallup)	Would you favor or oppose the U.S. using tax money to set up day care centers for the care of children whose mothers are working away from home? (Gallup)



BIRTH CONTROL PILLS--TEENAGE GIRLS

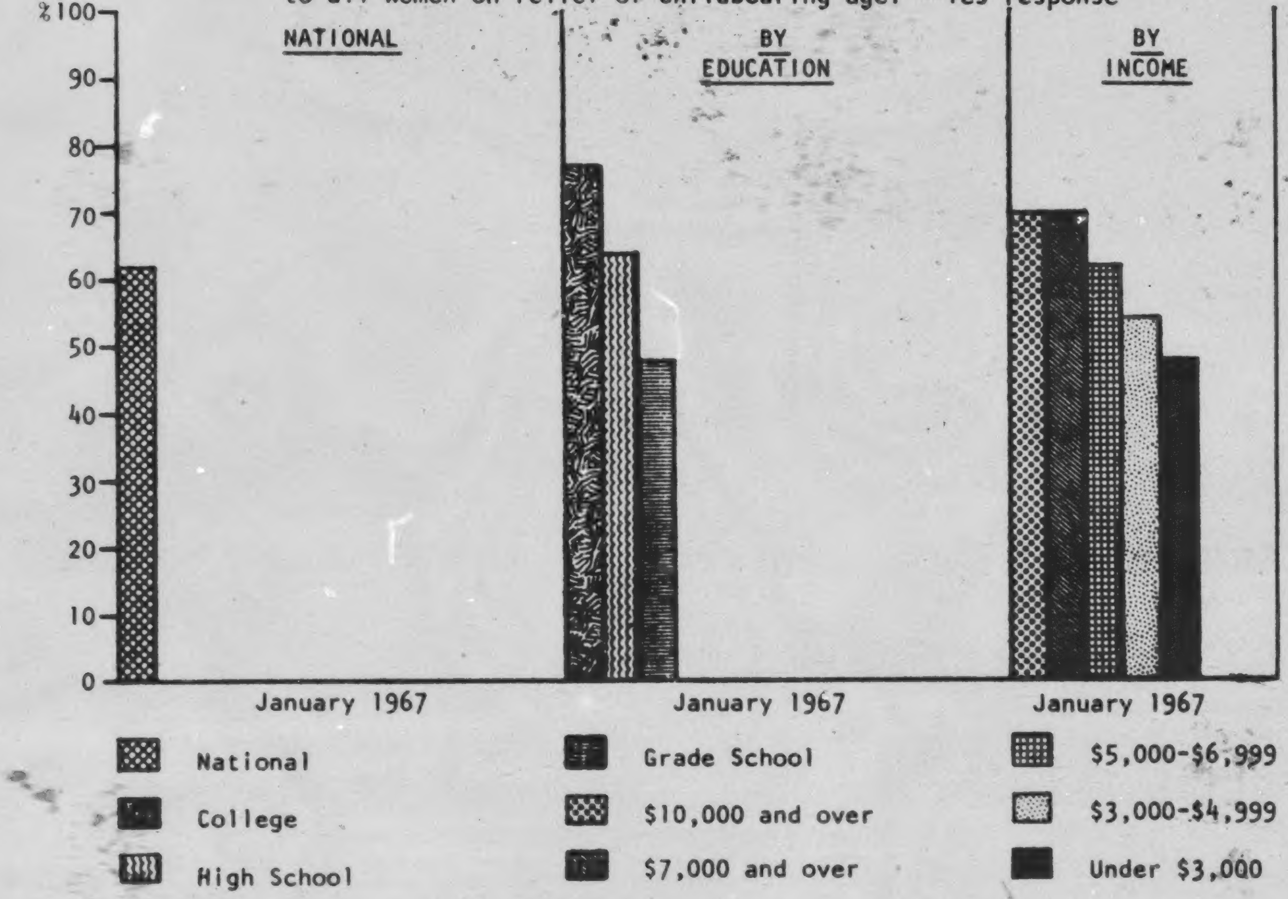
Question: "Do you think they should be made available to teenage girls?--Yes response*



*Graph drawn from information in the Gallup Opinion Index, February 1967.

BIRTH CONTROL PILLS--WOMEN ON RELIEF

Question: "Do you think birth control pills should be made available free to all women on relief of childbearing age?"--Yes response*



*Graph drawn from information in the Gallup Opinion Index, Febrary 1967.

III. ATTITUDES OF THE POOR AND NEAR-POOR

Up to the present point in this study, I have dealt primarily with an examination of trends and comparable data on public attitudes toward the economic issues of poverty--those issues clustered around the subject matter of the inevitability and causes of poverty and the desirability of various forms of government programs and assistance. These attitudes have also been considered from the viewpoint of the so-called liberal-conservative dichotomy and the pragmatic support for social welfare programs since the New Deal.

But what are the feelings and attitudes of the poor themselves? Are the poor a discrete group, with discrete needs, values and goals or are their values much the same as those of most Americans? An extensive number of studies examining the characteristics of the poor as isolated phenomena have been undertaken by social researchers working in the last four decades; and billions of dollars have been spent in trying to meet the specific needs of the poor. Yet, according to two social relations analysts who made an extensive survey of the literature of the characteristics of the poor, "little is known firmly and definitively about this group."

> We encountered other disappointments in our search of the literature. First of all, the writings about empirical findings have been generally stronger than the findings themselves. Americans of different socio-economic status are different in other respects, but there are blurred, rather than clear-cut, lines of distinction. Second, the findings have not been uniform either in direction or strength. Some investigators have found one tendency; others find another. These variations are due partly to method, partly to different time periods under study, and partly to rhetorics of interpretation. Finally, there are few studies that provide data representative of the nation as a whole. Most are community studies of limited generality.

> ....We have been able to show that it is not very likely that the poor show characteristics that are distinctively different from those of groups that are close to them in social standing. Socio-economic status is more a continuum than a set of discrete classes. The end result of our endeavors has been to place bounds on our knowledge and to indicate the gaps in our understanding.*

In recent years, social analysts have become concerned with the elusive measurement of societal well-being called "the quality of life." They are becoming aware that a state of well-being is made up of an intricate complex of factors that includes a wide range of feelings. In an effort to overcome the limitations of discrete analysis, social scientists have been attempting to define a broad measurement of social indicators.

> Like explorers returning from a journey into a new territory, the social scientists who have made the first systematic studies of people's perceptions of the "quality of life" have begun to sketch out for others the first tentative maps of what lies beyond this new social frontier. And--like most explorers--they are already drawing up the list of provisions for a return trip....
>
> [A] goal...is to assist in creating a set of subjective social indicators that, along with the more traditional objective indicators like the unemployment index, will guide policy decisions by providing an accurate picture of the conditions of society. It is also hoped that over time these measures will reveal how social change affects the psychological state of the nation. Even beyond these immediate goals, the researchers look toward someday having a clearer theoretical understanding of the meaning and nature of psychological satisfaction.**

One such thrust into the "new frontier" of social indicators has been the National Data Program for the Social Sciences undertaken by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Under this program, a series of five consecutive General Social Surveys are being conducted nationally, with the first of the series having been done in 1972. According to the preface to the 1974 General Social Survey:

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*Zabava D. Blum and Peter A. Rossi, "Appendix: Social Class Research and Images of the Poor: A Bibliographic Review," in Daniel P. Moynihan, ed., On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), pp. 344-345.

**"Measuring the Quality of Life in America: A New Frontier for Social Science," Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Newsletter, Summer 1974, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 3.

> The specific content of the schedule includes those items viewed by the NORC staff and advisory panel of sociologists as "mainstream" interests of modern academic sociology. More specifically, the survey covers such areas of interest to social scientists as stratification, the family, race relations, social control, civil liberties, and morale. It is intentionally thin on items such as political behavior and labor force activity since the former is within the purview of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, and the latter is adequately handled by the Current Population Survey of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

With the subject matter of the NORC General Social Surveys, supported by trends and comparative data found in the same or analogous poll questions asked by other major polling organizations, I am attempting here to undertake a similar thrust into the new frontier of social indicators for the low-income group. This broad measurement is being undertaken with a view to understanding the poor nationally and in terms of the expressed values and goals of most Americans. The intensity of the similarities and the dissimilarities between numerous attitudes of the poor and the more affluent will become the focal point of this section. In this way it may be possible to shed some light on goals and values of the poor, how they differ and do not differ from the values of most Americans. Unfortunately, this report generally will not be able to go deeper than a first-cut analysis: the broad relationships between all lower-income persons nationally and all the more affluent. Part of my belief that the poor cannot be seen as a discrete group is that lower-income persons come from exceedingly diverse backgrounds and are poor for very different reasons. Cleavages that exist among the poor by age, education, race and region and that extend vertically up through all income levels, may be in numerous issues, greater than cleavages between the poor and non-poor. How different--and are they different?--are the values and goals of an elderly white man living in poverty in Appalachia and a black woman living in poverty in a northern city? We assume that on most issues their values would be widely discrepant. But are they? And on which issues? As this in-depth work cannot be done here, it will have to be the subject of a future paper.

Yet, even the first cut may serve to shake and revise some of our entrenched beliefs about the poor as a discrete group. As this is a study of the poor nationally, you will find that the majority of those with incomes under $6,000 are in the South, are white, female grade-school educated and 50 years of age and older, and living in a city or its surrounding area.* One positive result of looking at a broad cut is the ability to begin assessing whether the needs of the majority--whether it be the majority of poor nationally or the majority of one group or another of the poor--are being recognized and addressed.** Further, some issues may command an overwhelming majority response, others may have mixed reactions. The focus of the following section will be on the weight of opinion of the poor and its place in the mainstream of American values and attitudes.

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*Although the greatest single percentage of poor and non-poor are living in a large city (29 percent), the spread of where they live is wide. The ratio between those living in an SMSA and its surrounding area and those living in non-SMSA towns and country is about 60 to 40. See the section of this report on the description of the sample by size of place for a further discussion.

**This does not mean that minority needs or even the feelings of individuals should not be recognized and responded to.

The $6,000 level was chosen as the delineation of the poor and near-poor for this poll analysis as the survey income level that would include all persons below the "poverty threshold" (Orshansky) and a substantial number slightly above it. Going higher to $7,000 would begin to include significant numbers of persons who, according to the poverty threshold, could be considered non-affluent rather than near-poor. Going lower than $6,000 to $5,000 would, in effect, cut out the near-poor and numbers of poor in families larger than four persons. Since income levels in surveys are, of course, coded by thousands, no income cut-off other than by thousands of dollars could have been considered.

Attitudes of the Poor and Near-Poor

The sections and tables that follow have been constructed from the raw data given primarily in the NORC General Social Survey taken in the Spring of 1974 and include data on some issues from the Spring 1973 survey.

Section I of this study ended with a discussion of the split, observed by Free and Cantril, between the liberal and conservative tendencies of the American public on ideological and operational levels. The contention of Free and Cantril, supported by my own observations, is that despite its ideological conservatism, the American public clearly tends to react to human and social needs on a liberal, operational or pragmatic level. There is also evidence to show that on numerous issues Americans are becoming more liberal over time. This would argue for the belief that today Americans would favor domestic reform and support a climate of social welfare improvement.

Yet, it is interesting to note that despite its liberal orientation on many domestic issues, the American public reports itself more conservative than liberal when asked to choose between the dichotomous positions. A Gallup poll of early November, 1974 introduces the concept of new political parties based on this dichotomy and elicits a large "no opinion" response; but those who had an opinion on the political party preference significantly preferred the conservative party. A self-reported conservative party preference has been a long-term trend among the American public, which, in Gallup polls taken since the middle 1930's, has also opposed reestablishing the political parties on the basis of the conservative-liberal dichotomy. The scope of this study does not allow for an in-depth look into this important issue; but without it being further verified, my sense is that the opposition to a conservative-liberal realignment of political parties supports the observation that Americans are basically liberal on a number of issues which have been historically represented by the Democratic party; and they continue to be liberal on these issues, which are primarily concerned with federal, domestic, social and economic objectives. The conservative feeling would seem to center around issues other than the social welfare ones, which have been traditionally defined as "liberal," in its primary sense. The dualism between ideology and operation, noted by Free and Cantril, may also help to explain the American public's opposition to a new political party realignment based on conservatism-liberalism. This opposition holds despite major changes in political party support over the past decade: the significant decrease in identification with the Republican party and the sharp rise in the number considering themselves to be Independents. Under the Democratic party, for instance, a voter can consider himself conservative on some issues and liberal on others (which has actually been the case) and still be represented by the party. Under the conservative-liberal label this might not be possible.

According to the November 1974 Gallup survey:*

> The public opposes any change from the present party alignment by a vote of 56 percent to 27 percent. More to the point, rank-and-file Republicans oppose such an arrangement by almost the same ratio, 53 percent to 30 percent.
>
> Here are the results nationwide and by party affiliation:

NEW POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion
NATIONAL	27%	56%	17%
Republicans	30	53	17
Democrats	26	57	17
Independents	27	59	14

Gallup goes on to note:

> Opposition to establishing a new alignment based upon conservative-liberal ideology has been recorded since 1936, when survey findings clearly paralleled those expressed in the current survey.
>
> While survey results show a declining number of voters identifying with the Republican party (the latest figure reveals only 23 percent calling themselves Republicans), the percentage of adults who say they would prefer to join the conservative party, if the choice were between conservatives and liberals, has remained almost constant during the last four decades.
>
> As early as 1936, the Gallup Poll began questioning American voters about their preference if the choice were between a conservative party and a liberal party. Even then, a high point in Democratic strength, the division of opinion showed a slight preference for a conservative party over a liberal party. In fact, the proportion of those preferring the conservative label is about the same today as it was at that early date.

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*Gallup Opinion Index, No. 116, February 1975, pp. 14-16.

In the Gallup poll of this question given on the next page, despite the form of the question and the large number of "no opinion" responses, some of the group cleavages in liberalism-conservatism noted by Free and Cantril can be seen. Of particular interest is the response by political party preference, which shows the Democrats to feel significantly more liberal than conservative and the Independents to be conservative. This poll is followed by a table showing the conservative-liberal preference surveyed by Gallup in a few selected years since 1936. The percentage results in that table are based on those who made a choice.*

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*Ibid.

CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL PREFERENCE

Question: "If an arrangement of this kind (two new political parties) were carried out and you had to make a choice, which party would you, personally, prefer--the conservative party or the liberal party?"

NOVEMBER 8-11, 1974

	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	NO OPINION
NATIONAL	40%	30%	30%
SEX			
Male	40	34	26
Female	40	27	33
RACE			
White	43	30	27
Non-White	19	34	47
EDUCATION			
College	44	41	15
High School	42	27	31
Grade School	30	25	45
REGION			
East	33	37	30
Midwest	43	28	29
South	42	22	36
West	45	38	17
AGE			
Total Under 30	35	41	24
18-24 years	32	45	23
25-29 years	42	32	26
30-49 years	44	27	29
50 & older	41	26	33
INCOME			
$20,000 & over	50	34	16
$15,000-$19,999	48	30	22
$10,000-$14,999	44	29	27
$ 7,000-$ 9,999	40	28	32
$ 5,000-$ 6,999	29	31	40
$ 3,000-$ 4,999	35	22	43
Under $3,000	24	40	36
POLITICS			
Republican	64	14	22
Democrat	31	38	31
So. Democrat	31	38	31
Other Democrat	35	28	37
Independent	39	31	30
RELIGION			
Protestant	44	25	31
Catholic	38	34	28
OCCUPATION			
Professional & Business	45	34	21
Clerical & Sales	42	33	25
Manual Workers	37	28	35
Non-Labor Force	41	31	28
CITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	36	39	25
500,000-999,999	44	30	26
50,000-499,999	39	36	25
2,500-49,999	43	25	32
Under 2,500, Rural	42	22	36

CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL PREFERENCE

(Based on those making choice)

NATIONAL

	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL
1974 (late)	57%	43%
1974 (early)	53	47
1962	51	49
1936	59	41

Harris surveys between the years 1968 and 1974 also showed a conservative choice. Here, as in the NORC tables that follow, the scale is widened to include a greater range of feeling; these scaled responses show that today, in contrast to the late 1960's, the public clearly considers itself more moderate or middle-of-the-road than either conservative or liberal.*

> How would you describe your own political philosophy--as conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal or radical?

TREND IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

	1974 %	1972 %	1968 %	CHANGE FROM 1968 %
Conservative	30	32	37	- 7
Middle-of-the-road	43	35	31	+12
Liberal	15	22	17	- 2
Radical	3	2	2	+ 1
Not sure	9	9	13	- 4

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY BY PARTY

	TOTAL PUBLIC %	REP. %	DEM. %	IND. %
Conservative	30	46	26	25
Middle-of-the road	43	42	42	48
Liberal	15	6	19	16
Radical	3	2	3	5
Not sure	9	4	10	6

---

*The Harris Survey, release of December 26, 1974.

A Gallup poll taken in May of 1971, giving an even wider choice than the Harris survey, found the public to be 39% on the conservative side, 29% middle-of-the-road and 26% on the liberal end of the spectrum. One social researcher has made a perceptive analysis of the possible grounds for the public's liberal-conservative reactions at the present time:

> Perhaps such a poll may better reflect a "value system" in this day and age; "liberal" and "conservative" positions may have recently hinged on such issues as law and order, school busing, pornography, drug abuse, and permissiveness in schools, which can cut across the spectrum of standard "political" positions based on classical economic and social issues.*

If liberalism-conservatism today reflects the desire for defending or changing the "value system" as well as the classical positions on economic issues, both of which I would suggest it does, then the confusion of terms becomes enormous and the liberal-conservative dichotomy inadequate to explain group feelings. This has led in turn, I believe, to considerable political and social policy confusion. Some of the present problems of the Democratic party may be seen in the light of this confusion: the programs of the Democratic party have been emphasizing "liberal" attitudes with respect to the value system, although many of its supporters are liberals on classic economic issues, but conservatives toward the value system. For these reasons I would suggest that public opinion cannot be understood today except in terms of issues: specifically, issue by issue. It is in this context that the low-income group reactions to the issues polled in the NORC General Social Surveys are given here.

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*Armbruster in Frank E. Armbruster, with contributions by Doris Yokelson, The Forgotten Americans: A Survey of the Values, Beliefs, and Concerns of the Majority (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1972), p. 138.

The Variables

The make-up and size of the sample used in the tables in this section are important to note for an understanding of the accuracy, weight and usefulness of a particular group opinion. Following are the number and percentage breakdowns of the variables found in the 1974 NORC General Social Survey by persons with incomes under and over $6,000 and the percentage make-up of the variables by black and white by income level. As this entire study is based on comparisons of data by income levels of under and over $6,000, the total number of persons in this sample is the number that answered the family income question. A detailed examination of the demographic characteristics of the NORC samples of 1973 and 1974, broken down by income and pooled, is given in a table prepared by Esther Adam and so will not be undertaken here. This includes a breakdown of the characteristics of respondents in families below the $6,000 level, by varying levels of income: under $3,000, $3,000-4,999 and $5,000-$5,999; that is the range from the very poor to the near-poor.

NORC 1974 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY
SAMPLE SIZE UNDER AND OVER $6,000 INCOME LEVEL

NATIONAL

	Number	Percent
Under $6,000	341	25
Over $6,000	1016	75
	1357	100%

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND RACE

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
White	275	81	925	91
Black	65	19	86	9
	340	100%	1011	100%

BREAKDOWN OF BLACK SAMPLE BY INCOME

	Number	Percent
Under $6,000	65	43
Over $6,000	86	57
	151	100%

BREAKDOWN OF WHITE SAMPLE BY INCOME

	Number	Percent
Under $6,000	275	23
Over $6,000	925	77
	1200	100%

As can be seen above, in this sample a little less than one-half of all blacks and about one quarter of all whites reported incomes of under $6,000 in 1973. Almost twice as many of the blacks proportionally as of the whites earned less than $6,000 in that year.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND EDUCATION

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grade School	204	60	265	26
High School	112	33	549	54
College	25	7	202	20
	341	100%	1016	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND EDUCATION

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Grade School	48	74	155	56
High School	14	22	98	36
College	3	5	22	9
	65	101%	275	101%
Over $6,000				
Grade School	34	40	231	25
High School	44	51	500	54
College	8	9	194	21
	86	100%	925	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND EDUCATION
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grade School	82	54	386	32
High School	58	38	598	50
College	11	7	216	18
	151	99%	1200	100%

In this survey, the sample size for the college-educated earning less than $6,000 is too small (n = 25) to yield an acceptable accuracy of response. The opinions of this group will be included in the survey tables in this section, but the very high rate of inaccuracy due to the small sample size must be kept in mind. Perhaps the outstanding characteristics of the breakdown by race, income and education are that three-quarters of all blacks reporting less than $6,000 in 1973 received a grade school education or less compared to slightly over one-half of all whites; that the percentage of whites earning over $6,000, who had some college education, was at least twice as high as the percentage of college educated in any other category; and that about one-half of blacks of all income levels had a grade school education compared to one-third of whites of all income levels. This disparity as well as the one between the percentage of college educated of both races may present the best characteristic picture of this sample broken down by race and education. It is clear, however, that in absolute numbers many more whites than blacks earning less than $6,000 had only attended grade school: more than three times as many. Furthermore, among whites with incomes less than $6,000, over one-half had only a grade-school education. This is a marked difference between the under and over $6,000 income levels: in the over $6,000 income group most were high school educated. Although these disparities can be noted, no conclusion about education as a symptom or cause of poverty can be drawn.

The sample sizes of blacks by race, income and education are too small to be useful in this report for giving responses to survey questions. This will be true for all variables in the NORC sample when they are analyzed by race and income.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND REGION*

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
East	54	16	243	24
Midwest	84	25	318	31
South	133	39	286	28
West	70	21	169	17
	341	101%	1016	100%

---

*For the breakdown of states in each region, see the table on the NORC samples by Esther Adam. In her table, East is designated "Northeast" and Midwest, "North Central."

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND REGION

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
East	11	17	43	16
Midwest	14	22	70	25
South	29	45	103	37
West	11	17	59	22
	65	101%	275	100%
Over $6,000				
East	25	29	216	23
Midwest	30	35	287	31
South	24	28	261	28
West	7	8	161	17
	86	100%	925	99%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND REGION
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
East	36	24	259	22
Midwest	44	29	357	30
South	53	35	364	30
West	18	12	220	18
	151	100%	1200	100%

Clearly, the greatest number of poor, measured by the $6,000-income figure, are in the South. To this must be taken into consideration that it may be cheaper to live in the South than in either the East or West, so that $6,000 would stretch further in the South than in the other regions. A recent Gallup poll of self-reported minimum income needs seems to underscore this:

QUESTION: "What is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) needs each week to get along in this community?" (January 10-13, 1975)

	Median Average $
NATIONAL	161
REGION	
East	198
Midwest	152
South	150
West	198

And another survey question, asked by Gallup at the same time, shows that cost of food is somewhat lower in the South than elsewhere:*

QUESTION: "On the average, about how much does your family spend on food, including milk, each week?" (January 10-13, 1975)

	Median Average $
NATIONAL	47
REGION	
East	50
Midwest	45
South	42
West	47

This does not obscure the fact, however, that the central problem of poverty lies in the Southern areas of the country. As shown by Esther Adam in her table in this report, when income levels under $6,000 are broken down, the deep core of poverty--those families earning less than $3,000--is found in the South. In this sample, twice as many of those earning under $3,000 are living in the South as in any other region.

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*Gallup Opinion Index, No. 116, February 1974, pp. 10-13.

Region of Residence	Under $3,000	$3,000-4,999	$5,000-5,999
Northeast (East)	13	16	23
North Central (Midwest)	22	28	29
South	46	34	32
West	19	22	16
	100	100	100

The greatest percentage of all blacks in this sample are living in the South, particularly blacks with family incomes under $6,000 (twice as many as in any other region). Blacks with incomes over $6,000 can be found predominantly in the Midwest. The greatest number of poor whites are also in the South and white families earning over $6,000, in the Midwest. The East and West register the lowest number of poor blacks and whites with the Midwest generally having a somewhat higher number.

Although, in absolute numbers, most of the poor in the South are white, almost half of the blacks living in poverty or near-poverty circumstances are in the South; so that black poverty, measured by family income, can clearly be seen, like white poverty, to be predominantly a problem of the South.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND AGE

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 30	90	26	272	27
30-49	66	20	420	41
50-69	104	31	276	27
70 & Older	79	23	46	5
	339	100%	1014	100%

Of the entire NORC sample answering the family income question, 1,353 respondents (four less than the total) were coded for age. The percentage breakdown by age group of the entire national sample (1,484 respondents), which is useful for purposes of comparison, is as follows:

Under 30	27%
30-49	36%
50-69	28%
70 and older....	9%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND AGE

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Under 30	15	24	75	27
30-49	21	33	45	16
50-69	18	28	85	31
70 and Older	10	16	69	25
	64	101%	274	99%
Over $6,000				
Under 30	23	27	247	27
30-49	44	51	373	40
50-69	17	20	259	28
70 and Older	2	2	44	5
	86	100%	923	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND AGE
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 30	38	25	322	27
30-49	65	43	418	35
50-69	35	23	344	29
70 and Older	12	8	113	9
	150	99%	1197	100%

The tables above reveal that in this sample more than half of those with family incomes under $6,000 were 50 years of age or older and, one-fourth 70 and older. The financial status of those 70 and older is in strong contrast to their proportion in the total sample: although they represent approximately 10 percent of the national sample, they make up about 25 percent of the poor and near-poor.

The sample sizes of the age groups of blacks broken down by income are too small to assume that they are accurate. In general, however, in this black sample, persons 70 and older represent a smaller percentage of the poor and near-poor than among whites. The 30-49 year olds, the earning age-group that is the most well-to-do among both races, is also more highly represented among the poor blacks than poor whites. This age group in addition makes up a disproportionately high percentage of the total black sample compared to all whites.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Republican	72	21	210	21
Democrat	156	47	420	42
Independent	81	24	346	35
Other, Refused	26	8	24	2
	335	100%	1,000	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Republican	8	13	64	24
Democrat	41	64	115	43
Independent	9	15	72	27
Other, Refused	6	9	20	7
	64	101%	271	101%
Over $6,000				
Republican	5	6	204	23
Democrat	57	67	361	40
Independent	20	24	325	35
Other, Refused	2	2	21	2
	84	99%	911	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Republican	13	9	268	23
Democratic	98	66	476	40
Independent	29	20	397	34
Other, Refused	8	5	41	3
	148	100%	1182	100%

The Democratic party is clearly the preference among both the poor and non-poor populations. It is interesting to note, however, that the Independents represent at least a third of the over $6,000 sample, only 7 percentage points less than the Democrats. In comparison to whites, blacks of all income levels overwhelmingly prefer the Democratic party (two-thirds). The Democratic party preference of both poor and non-poor blacks can be considered to be about the same. This is also true for whites. In general in this sample, income is a relatively unimportant factor in party preference; race, on the other hand, has a very strong impact.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND RELIGION

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Protestant	229	67	643	63
Catholic	75	22	274	27
Jewish	4	1	32	3
None	32	9	59	6
Other	1	0	7	1
	341	99%	1015	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Protestant	57	88	171	62
Catholic	4	6	71	26
Jewish	0	0	4	2
None	4	6	28	10
Other	0	0	1	0
	65	100%	275	101%
Over $6,000				
Protestant	73	86	568	61
Catholic	7	8	266	29
Jewish	0	0	32	4
None	4	5	55	6
Other	1	1	4	0
	85	100%	925	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Protestant	130	87	739	62
Catholic	11	7	337	28
Jewish	0	0	36	3
None	8	5	83	7
Other	1	0	5	0
	150	99%	1200	100%

The sizes of the Jewish and "other" religious preference samples are too small to be useful in assessing their responses. They will not, therefore, be included in the social attitudes by religious preference given in the next section.

The tables above reveal the obvious: that the great majority of Americans are Protestant and blacks are overwhelmingly so. The tables also show that there is relatively little difference in religious preference by poor and non-poor income levels, and this holds true, even when income is cross-tabulated by race.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND OCCUPATION*

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional	26	9	183	19
Managerial, Sales	26	9	141	15
Clerical	40	14	219	23
Skilled Workers	34	11	123	13
Operatives, Laborers	81	28	177	19
Farm, Farm Workers	14	5	12	1
Service Workers	73	25	95	10
	294	101%	950	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND OCCUPATION

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Professional	3	5	23	10
Managerial, Sales	3	5	22	9
Clerical	5	9	35	15
Skilled Workers	2	4	32	14
Operatives, Laborers	18	33	63	27
Farm, Farm Workers	3	5	11	5
Service workers	22	39	51	22
	56	100%	237	101%
Over $6,000				
Professional	6	7	177	21
Managerial, Sales	6	7	135	16
Clerical	14	17	204	24
Skilled Workers	6	7	117	14
Operatives, Laborers	27	33	149	17
Farm, Farm Workers	1	1	11	1
Service workers	23	28	71	8
	83	100%	864	101%

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*The large number of missing observations are coded "not applicable."

SAMPLE BY RACE AND OCCUPATION
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional	9	6	200	18
Managerial, Sales	9	6	157	14
Clerical	19	14	239	22
Skilled Workers	8	6	149	14
Operatives, Laborers	45	32	212	19
Farm, Farm Workers	4	3	22	2
Service workers	45	32	122	11
	139	99%	1101	100%

The farm sample is too small to assume accuracy of response and so will not be used in the next section in analyzing social attitudes. Obviously, lower-income persons are predominantly employed in unskilled jobs, and those of the higher income level in the professions and clerical work. The spread of occupations is much more even among the over $6,000-income persons and among whites than among blacks and low earners. Again, in general, the black sample is too small, when it is broken down by occupation, to be very useful. However, there are considerably more black low-income earners among operatives, laborers and service workers than white persons of low income. Even more notable is that blacks are still very highly represented in these occupations when they are earning over $6,000 a year (about two-thirds). Two-thirds of blacks of all income levels are unskilled workers, compared to only about one-third of all whites. The opinions of unskilled workers are, however, still predominantly white; blacks represent from 15 percent to 30 percent of this opinion, depending on the category. The opinions of the professionals, managers, sales, and clerical and skilled workers are overwhelmingly white opinions.

Black poverty may be said to be (for whatever reason) among the unskilled occupations; white poverty is also among unskilled jobs, but it is surprisingly equally represented among the professions, clerical and skilled workers.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND SIZE OF PLACE (NORC)

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
SMSA 250K & Over	98	29	198	20
SMSA 50K-250K	35	10	101	10
SMSA Suburbs	44	13	262	26
SMSA Unicorp.	36	11	171	17
Non-SMSA 10K-50K	34	10	63	6
Non-SMSA 2,500-10K	33	10	68	7
Non-SMSA Small Area	13	4	36	4
Non-SMSA Country	48	14	117	12
	341	101%	1016	102%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND SIZE OF PLACE

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
SMSA 250K & Over	35	54	63	23
SMSA 50K-250K	5	8	30	11
SMSA Suburbs	2	3	41	15
SMSA Unicorp.	3	5	33	12
Non-SMSA 10K-50K	6	9	28	10
Non-SMSA 2,500-10K	4	6	29	11
Non-SMSA Small Area	3	5	10	4
Non-SMSA Country	7	11	41	15
	65	101%	275	101%
Over $6,000				
SMSA 250K & Over	41	48	157	17
SMSA 50K-250K	18	21	83	9
SMSA Suburbs	8	9	252	27
SMSA Unincorp.	3	4	167	18
Non-SMSA 10K-50K	8	9	55	6
Non-SMSA 2,500-10K	2	2	66	7
Non-SMSA Small Area	2	2	34	4
Non-SMSA Country	4	5	111	12
	86	100%	925	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE AND SIZE OF PLACE
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
SMSA 250K & Over	76	50	220	18
SMSA 50K-250K	23	15	113	9
SMSA Suburbs	10	7	293	24
SMSA Unicorp.	6	4	200	17
Non-SMSA 10K-50K	14	9	83	7
Non-SMSA 2,500-10K	6	4	95	8
Non-SMSA Small Area	5	3	44	4
Non-SMSA Country	11	7	152	13
	151	99%	1200	100%

The clearest differences found in this sample by income are that twice as many affluent as poor live in the suburbs and a significantly higher proportion of the poor live in large cities. About one-fourth of the non-poor live in the suburbs, and another fifth in large cities. The only large grouping of low-income earners is in the large cities, where about one-third live. The remainder of the poor are spread fairly evenly throughout other types of places. About 60 percent live in an SMSA city or town and the statistical area surrounding it. The other 40 percent live in non-SMSA towns and rural areas--a significantly higher proportion than the non-poor.

When seen by race, the picture changes considerably. About two-thirds of blacks of all income levels live in cities with populations of at least 50,000 and 50 percent live in cities of 250,000 and over. There is little difference here between poor and non-poor blacks. The remainder of the blacks sample, broken down by income, is too small to give any accurate information, either here or in the questions that follow in the next section. The greatest number of poor whites (one-fourth) are also living in large cities, but there are also proportionally a greater number of poor whites in non-SMSA areas than the more affluent whites. The majority of black response can be seen to be urban; and if we recall what was shown under "region" it is a Southern response as well. According to this NORC sample, black opinion may be seen to be most strongly, a Southern, urban response. Apart from the one-third of the sample living in large or medium-sized cities, lower-income whites may be said to come fairly evenly from all types of places in the country; but they, like the poor blacks, are also predominantly Southern.

The proportion of blacks living in the suburbs is much lower than that of whites: less than 10 percent of all blacks live in the suburbs, but about one-fourth of all whites do. Of the whites, the significantly higher proportion is affluent. The response of all poor, blacks and white, and all blacks can be viewed, in this particular aspect, to be non-suburban compared to that of affluent whites.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND SELF-REPORTED CLASS

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lower Class	40	12	18	2
Working Class	168	49	468	44
Middle Class	117	34	498	51
Upper Class	13	4	29	3
	338	99%	1013	100%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND SELF-REPORTED CLASS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $6,000				
Lower Class	10	16	30	11
Working Class	28	44	140	51
Middle Class	19	30	97	35
Upper Class	7	11	6	2
	64	101%	273	99%
Over $6,000				
Lower Class	4	5	14	2
Working Class	56	66	412	45
Middle Class	24	28	469	51
Upper Class	1	1	28	3
	85	100%	923	101%

SAMPLE BY RACE, INCOME AND SELF-REPORTED CLASS
ALL INCOME LEVELS

	BLACK		WHITE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lower Class	14	9	44	4
Working Class	84	56	552	46
Middle Class	43	29	566	47
Upper Class	8	5	34	3
	149	99%	1196	100%

My sense is that one substantial key to the attitudes of Americans is their subjective feeling of their class level. The tables show that, regardless of income, all class levels are represented, although obviously the working and middle classes contain the overwhelming majority of persons. The working class is slightly more highly represented among persons earning under $6,000; but it may be surprising to some who have believed that since the 1950s, all Americans have begun to feel "middle class," that identification with the "working class" is still so strong. In essence, this identification has changed little in the last ten years: in the work of

SELF-REPORTED SOCIAL CLASS

INCOME CROSS-TABULATED WITH SEVERAL VARIABLES
(PERCENT)

"If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class?"

	LOWER	WORKING	MIDDLE	UPPER
EDUCATION				
Grade School or Less				
Under $6,000	73	57	58	69
Over $6,000	44	35	17	28
High School				
Under $6,000	25	37	32	15
Over $6,000	56	58	52	38
College				
Under $6,000	3	6	10	15
Over $6,000	0	8	31	34
REGION				
East				
Under $6,000	20	15	16	8
Over $6,000	17	20	27	38
Midwest				
Under $6,000	20	29	22	15
Over $6,000	0	35	29	17
South				
Under $6,000	40	34	42	69
Over $6,000	56	26	28	34
West				
Under $6,000	20	23	20	8
Over $6,000	28	18	15	10
AGE				
Under 30				
Under $6,000	18	28	26	39
Over $6,000	39	38	25	31
30-49				
Under $6,000	28	21	16	8
Over $6,000	39	41	42	31
50-69				
Under $6,000	39	34	26	15
Over $6,000	17	27	20	31
70 and Older				
Under $6,000	15	17	33	39
Over $6,000	6	3	6	7
RELIGION				
Protestant				
Under $6,000	70	66	65	85
Over $6,000	83	64	61	76
Catholic				
Under $6,000	20	21	28	0
Over $6,000	11	28	28	14
None				
Under $6,000	10	13	4	15
Over $6,000	0	6	6	3
POLITICAL PARTY				
Republican				
Under $6,000	21	16	28	31
Over $6,000	29	14	25	48
Democrat				
Under $6,000	54	47	42	39
Over $6,000	41	46	39	14
Independent				
Under $6,000	15	29	21	23
Over $6,000	18	36	33	38
Other, Refused				
Under $6,000	10	8	7	8
Over $6,000	6	3	2	0

SELF-REPORTED SOCIAL CLASS
(cont'd.)

	LOWER	WORKING	MIDDLE	UPPER
SIZE PLACE (NORC)				
SMSA				
250,000 and Over				
Under $6,000	25	26	34	31
Over $6,000	17	18	21	24
50,000-250,000				
Under $6,000	13	11	9	0
Over $6,000	6	12	9	3
Suburbs				
Under $6,000	8	15	11	15
Over $6,000	22	25	27	28
Unincorporated Area				
Under $6,000	3	15	9	0
Over $6,000	22	14	19	28
NON-SMSA:				
10,000-49,999				
Under $6,000	13	8	11	23
Over $6,000	6	8	5	3
2,500-9,999				
Under $6,000	5	9	11	23
Over $6,000	6	6	8	7
Small Area				
Under $6,000	8	3	3	8
Over $6,000	11	3	3	7
Open Country				
Under $6,000	28	13	11	0
Over $6,000	11	15	9	0
ETHNICITY				
Africa, W. Indies (Black)				
Under $6,000	15	14	8	23
Over $6,000	23	9	2	0
Hispanic				
Under $6,000	15	12	4	10
Over $6,000	8	5	2	9
WASP				
Under $6,000	19	17	14	10
Over $6,000	23	16	24	26
Other European Old Wave				
Under $6,000	38	34	45	20[*]
Over $6,000	39	44	45	52
Other European New Wave				
Under $6,000	4	13	14	0
Over $6,000	0	15	19	4
Other & No Information				
Under $6,000	8	7	5	0
Over $6,000	0	6	3	4

[*] Germans only.

Free and Cantril, in 1964, self-reported working class nationally was 53 percent and middle class was 33 percent.

Of course, the poor and near-poor do report a considerably greater proportion feeling "lower class." This is significantly more so among poor blacks than poor whites, but there is not a strong difference between the races. Along with this, considerably fewer persons in families earning under $6,000 feel themselves to be middle class than those in the over $6,000 income level. But perhaps the salient response is the very strong working class identification of the more affluent blacks: it may be that most blacks in the over $6,000 level are earning higher incomes in better-paid, working class-type jobs and feel strongly identified with them. It would be interesting to speculate whether this might be the core of a movement of upward mobility among blacks, based on a strong economic foundation. It can already be seen that the overwhelming majority of blacks of all income levels feel themselves to be part of the working and middle classes, with all that this means in term of social,economic and moral attitudes.

Does the "culture of poverty" represent only the 12 percent of the poor and near-poor who thought of themselves as lower class? This is only 4 percent of the entire national sample, although the poor and near-poor represent about 25 percent of this sample. These figures alone would give weak support to the belief that a "culture of poverty" is a fundamental characteristic of the poor as a discrete group. The question is further, how much of the identification as lower class means a "culture of poverty?"

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*Free and Cantril, op. cit.

Although a slightly higher number of blacks in families earning under $6,000 report themselves to be lower class, the 16 percent that does, represents a small proportion of poor blacks. This sample of poor and near-poor, then, does not seem to speak from a "culture of poverty," but from the working class or middle class mentality that lies closer to mainstream thought.

NORC 1974 SAMPLE BY INCOME AND ETHNICITY*

	Under $6,000		Over $6,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Black (Africa, West Indies)	39	11	48	5
Hispanic (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Spain)	24	7	32	3
WASP	40	12	172	17
Other European-Old Wave	97	28	380	37
Other European-New Wave	31	9	139	14
Other & No Information	109	32	241	24
	340	99%	1012	100%

As black origins were chosen by the ethnicity response to be only from Africa and the West Indies, the black sample by ethnicity cannot in any way be considered to represent all black opinion. This category has therefore been called Africa, West Indies (Black) in the next portion of the study on social attitudes in order to clearly distinguish it from opinion by race. The extent to which this category can be used is limited, as is practically every ethnic category in the under $6,000 level, by its small size; its usefulness may be found in the possibility of being able to distinguish this type of black opinion from all black opinion; but making

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[*] For the description of countries of origin under these categories, please see the table in this paper by Esther Adam.

assumptions from the response of this category would, I believe, be fraught with difficulties and should be taken with extreme caution.

Obviously, the Hispanic category was also arbitrarily chosen: persons of Mexican descent are far different from those of Puerto Rican origin; and, those of Spanish origin are very different from either of the other two. However, in order to make the sample sizes in any way useful, groupings having historical meaning for distinguishing opinion were chosen. European backgrounds were grouped by the old wave of immigrants who came primarily in the nineteenth century and the new wave that arrived in the twentieth century. A detailed listing of the countries under these categories is given in Esther Adam's table. In the under $6,000 level bracket, besides the "other and no information" category, "other European-old wave" is clearly the largest single grouping (over one-fourth). These are persons whose forebears originated from countries in Western, Northern or Central Europe, such as France, Germany, Ireland, Sweden and Austria, among others. The new wave are persons primarily coming from Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. "Other European-old wave" is by far the largest single grouping of all Americans. This group, together with "other European-new wave" make up about 50 percent of this national sample. My sense, even from this one fact, is that the question of "ethnics" and their ethnicity, their opinions, values, beliefs and social class behavior, needs a profound revaluation in the present decade.*

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*The work of Andrew M. Greeley of the National Opinion Research Center has made excellent inroads here.

The Issues

The following section is an examination of the attitudes of the poor and non-poor toward numerous social, moral and political issues. The issues are, for the most part, from the NORC General Social Survey of 1974; but several of the questions came from NORC's 1973 General Social Survey. The issues are grouped into workable topics and analyzed by income and income cross-tabulated with selected variables. The tables, which are inserted on separate sheets within each topic, show percentage responses by each issue and variable that can be compared either by income level under each category or by income level between each category. Each group of tables is preceded by a list of the exact questions asked in those tables; the question number and year of the survey are indicated in parenthesis at the end of each question. Not all of the variables are included in each group of tables, and the variables that are used may change according to topic.

Political Views: Liberal-Conservative

The tables show a generally homogeneous response to the liberal-conservative question. The greatest number of persons of both income levels and by each variable, ranging from approximately one-third to two-fifths, feel themselves to be moderate or middle-of-the-road. There is practically no difference between the reactions of persons in the under and over $6,000-income bracket on the national level along the entire scale of response, although the under $6,000 bracket tends slightly more to the liberal end of the scale than the conservative, and the over $6,000 response is very evenly divided on both sides of the scale.

POLITICAL VIEWS

"We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal--point 1--to extremely conservative--point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" (Q. 36, 1974)

POLITICAL VIEWS: LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE

(Percent)

	EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE	DON'T KNOW
NATIONAL								
Under $6,000	2	15	12	37	13	10	3	8
Over $6,000	1	14	15	39	16	11	2	2
RACE								
White								
Under $6,000	3	12	11	39	15	10	3	7
Over $6,000	1	12	16	39	17	11	2	2
Black								
Under $6,000	0	25	15	31	5	11	2	12
Over $6,000	2	27	11	36	10	7	1	6
EDUCATION								
Grade School or Less								
Under $6,000	2	12	12	37	12	10	3	12
Over $6,000	2	14	14	42	12	10	2	4
High School								
Under $6,000	3	16	11	40	14	11	4	2
Over $6,000	1	12	14	43	15	10	2	2
College								
Under $6,000	8	32	12	28	12	8	0	0
Over $6,000	2	17	20	24	24	12	1	0
REGION								
East								
Under $6,000	6	20	9	41	9	7	0	7
Over $6,000	3	13	17	38	17	10	0	2
Midwest								
Under $6,000	0	16	13	33	16	11	5	7
Over $6,000	1	14	13	42	17	10	2	2
South								
Under $6,000	3	13	11	35	14	11	4	9
Over $6,000	1	14	16	37	15	13	3	3
West								
Under $6,000	1	13	13	43	11	10	1	7
Over $6,000	2	15	15	38	15	10	2	3
AGE								
Under 30								
Under $6,000	4	24	14	38	11	4	1	2
Over $6,000	2	20	21	41	11	4	0	2
30-49								
Under $6,000	3	18	12	33	8	12	5	9
Over $6,000	1	12	14	36	20	12	2	3
50-69								
Under $6,000	1	12	8	35	17	13	5	11
Over $6,000	1	8	13	44	15	14	3	2
70 and Older								
Under $6,000	1	5	13	44	14	13	1	9
Over $6,000	2	24	3	26	13	17	4	4
RELIGION								
Protestant								
Under $6,000	1	10	12	38	14	14	4	8
Over $6,000	1	11	14	39	18	12	2	3
Catholic								
Under $6,000	3	20	11	40	13	5	1	7
Over $6,000	1	13	17	41	16	10	1	1
None								
Under $6,000	13	34	9	28	3	0	3	9
Over $6,000	7	29	17	35	2	3	3	3

POLITICAL VIEWS: LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE (cont'd.)

	EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE	DON'T KNOW
POLITICAL PARTY								
Republican								
Under $6,000	0	7	10	43	14	18	4	4
Over $6,000	0	10	11	35	26	14	3	1
Democrat								
Under $6,000	3	15	15	32	14	11	3	7
Over $6,000	1	17	15	43	11	10	1	3
Independent								
Under $6,000	3	22	9	41	14	5	3	5
Over $6,000	2	12	19	38	17	10	2	1
Other, Refused								
Under $6,000	4	8	8	42	8	4	0	27
Over $6,000	0	17	13	38	8	17	0	8
OCCUPATION								
Professional								
Under $6,000	15	15	4	42	15	4	4	0
Over $6,000	1	17	20	26	21	14	2	0
Managerial, Sales								
Under $6,000	8	11	15	39	12	3	0	8
Over $6,000	3	11	19	32	24	9	1	1
Clerical								
Under $6,000	0	25	15	35	15	10	0	0
Over $6,000	1	9	16	44	17	10	2	2
Skilled Workers								
Under $6,000	0	15	6	35	18	12	9	6
Over $6,000	0	12	16	44	12	10	3	3
Operatives, Laborers								
Under $6,000	0	15	11	46	12	9	1	6
Over $6,000	3	13	10	46	9	15	3	2
Farm, Farm Workers								
Under $6,000	0	7	7	29	21	7	0	29
Over $6,000	0	17	0	50	25	8	0	0
Service Workers								
Under $6,000	3	11	10	34	11	11	6	15
Over $6,000	0	21	13	36	12	10	2	6
SIZE PLACE (NORC)								
SMSA:								
250,000 and Over								
Under $6,000	5	22	15	34	8	8	1	6
Over $6,000	3	20	14	36	13	12	1	2
50,000-250,000								
Under $6,000	0	14	9	60	6	3	3	6
Over $6,000	2	17	18	38	13	6	5	1
Suburbs								
Under $6,000	0	23	6	32	9	16	9	5
Over $6,000	1	12	18	39	17	9	1	2
Unincorporated Area								
Under $6,000	6	6	6	42	19	8	6	8
Over $6,000	0	11	13	40	21	12	3	2
NON-SMSA:								
10,000-49,999								
Under $6,000	3	15	15	38	12	15	0	3
Over $6,000	0	11	11	44	22	5	3	3
2,500-9,999								
Under $6,000	0	6	3	42	27	9	3	9
Over $6,000	2	9	18	37	19	12	3	0
Small Area								
Under $6,000	0	8	23	23	15	23	0	8
Over $6,000	3	6	17	42	19	6	3	6
Open Country								
Under $6,000	0	6	17	29	17	10	2	19
Over $6,000	1	14	12	41	8	18	1	6

POLITICAL VIEWS: LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE (cont'd.)

	EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE	DON'T KNOW
CLASS								
Lower Class								
Under $6,000	3	13	18	30	13	10	3	13
Over $6,000	6	11	11	44	11	11	0	6
Working Class								
Under $6,000	2	18	10	38	12	7	5	10
Over $6,000	1	13	13	43	13	11	2	3
Middle Class								
Under $6,000	3	13	13	39	14	15	1	3
Over $6,000	2	14	17	35	19	10	2	1
Upper Class								
Under $6,000	0	0	15	54	8	15	0	8
Over $6,000	0	24	14	35	10	10	7	0
ETHNICITY								
Africa, W. Indies (Black)								
Under $6,000	0	31	13	33	3	10	3	8
Over $6,000	0	27	16	36	11	7	0	4
Hispanic								
Under $6,000	4	21	13	38	13	4	0	8
Over $6,000	6	16	13	41	9	6	0	9
WASP								
Under $6,000	3	13	10	35	20	10	8	3
Over $6,000	1	12	15	40	18	14	1	1
Other European Old Wave								
Under $6,000	2	7	8	41	18	16	4	4
Over $6,000	1	10	15	41	17	12	3	1
Other European New Wave								
Under $6,000	0	29	23	29	7	7	0	7
Over $6,000	1	14	17	41	16	9	1	1
Other & No Information								
Under $6,000	4	11	[illegible]	39	12	8	2	14
Over $6,000	2	17	15	35	15	9	3	5

Among all the variables, income appears to play a minor role. The most liberal responses appeared among blacks, persons under 30 years of age and those reporting no religion, regardless of income. The sample sizes of other groups showing a strong liberal tendency are too small to assume they are accurate. The size of the sample, for instance, of "other European-new wave" in the under $6,000 level is only 31. This group reported itself to be 52% on the liberal side of the spectrum.

Conservatives showed themselves most clearly to be persons who are college-educated and are Republicans earning over $6,000. Although other cleavages among groups are apparent, they are mild.

The liberal-conservative table reveals that the American public today is strongly and rather uniformly centrist in its political outlook. It would seem that a President who is conservative in his economic policies and social programs would be out-of-step with this public; and the latest surveys of both Gallup and Harris support this observation. A Gallup poll of early February 1975 asking, "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ford is dealing with economic conditions in this country?" showed 57% disapproving, 29% approving and 14% having no opinion. Gallup's comment was:

> ...there is an uneasy feeling among a sizable number of Americans that Ford is indecisive and not on top of the economic situation. In addition, there are some who think his economic programs are slanted in favor of traditionally Republican groups, such as big business.*

A Harris survey of January 1975 scores Mr. Ford on these same points:

> Lopsided majorities have criticized both the Ford and Nixon Administration for "not keeping the economy healthy" and

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*Gallup Opinion Index, No. 117, March 1975, pp. 20-22.

> for heading Republic administrations "too close to big business."[*]

In another recent Harris survey, the public overwhelmingly favored a federal jobs program for the unemployed. Consistent public support over decades for this type of program was shown in an earlier section of this study. The Harris survey also showed that

> By a relatively close 49-42 percent, the public rejected the by now traditional objection to any type of welfare grant: "if people really want to work, they can find jobs without having the federal government give them a job hand-out."
>
> The old argument against the WPA, that "such a federal job program will turn into a lot of make-work jobs such as they had in the WPA during the depression, and that's bad," met with rejection by a clear 53-33 percent margin. However, the results indicate that there is still a residue of public aversion to the idea of "make-work."
>
> Taken as a whole, however, sensible compassion for the less fortunate in a time of economic hardship carries the day.[**]

Confidence in Leaders of Key U.S. Institutions

There are no sharp cleavages by income on a national basis in the numbers of those feeling a great deal of confidence in the various leaders of our institutions. The only significant differences can be noted in the ten-point lower support of the poor of the scientific community and their eight-point more favorable feeling about the press and T.V.

There are, however, some substantial group cleavages among the other variables, in particular, race, education, age, occupation and ethnicity. The institutions showing the greatest span of reaction by race are major companies, the federal executive (by race and income), the scientific

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[*] The Harris Survey, release of February 20, 1975.

[**] The Harris Survey, release of January 16, 1975.

CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF U.S. INSTITUTIONS

"I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?" (Q. 87, 1974)

A. Major companies
B. Organized religion
C. Education
D. Executive Branch of the federal government
E. Organized Labor
F. Press
G. Medicine
H. TV
I. U.S. Supreme Court
J. Scientific community
K. Congress
L. Military

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS--1974
(PERCENT)

	MAJOR COMPANIES	ORG. RELIG.	EDUC.	FED. EXEC.	ORG LABOR	PRESS	MEDICINE	T.V.	U.S. SUP. COURT	SCIENT. COMM.	CONGRESS	MILITARY
NATIONAL												
Under $6,000	27	44	52	17	20	32	58	29	30	40	20	44
Over $6,000	33	44	47	11	17	24	62	21	35	50	17	38
RACE												
White												
Under $6,000	30	44	50	16	18	32	58	28	31	44	21	45
Over $6,000	35	45	45	13	17	24	62	21	35	52	18	39
Black												
Under $6,000	15	45	65	20	28	32	57	36	23	20	17	43
Over $6,000	11	35	63	7	22	27	57	24	30	23	9	27
EDUCATION												
Grade School or Less												
Under $6,000	27	48	55	19	26	34	54	33	29	31	18	48
Over $6,000	32	46	55	15	24	26	61	26	32	36	17	49
High School												
Under $6,000	29	38	50	14	13	27	65	24	30	47	26	44
Over $6,000	31	46	46	12	18	24	62	21	32	52	16	40
College												
Under $6,000	24	40	44	12	4	40	48	20	32	72	12	20
Over $6,000	40	38	38	12	5	21	61	14	45	61	20	20
REGION												
East												
Under $6,000	19	32	37	7	15	30	50	25	24	41	23	32
Over $6,000	33	44	42	7	16	26	62	20	35	50	15	36
Midwest												
Under $6,000	25	52	55	13	23	29	60	27	35	37	17	41
Over $6,000	33	49	52	13	21	27	60	23	36	49	18	35
South												
Under $6,000	30	51	62	21	20	34	62	32	31	38	19	52
Over $6,000	35	47	52	16	17	22	68	23	32	48	19	43
West												
Under $6,000	30	29	44	20	20	34	51	30	26	46	24	44
Over $6,000	28	34	37	16	12	20	56	14	37	52	15	39
AGE												
Under 30												
Under $6,000	26	42	49	11	17	37	61	34	31	49	14	38
Over $6,000	25	40	47	8	18	28	74	24	38	55	16	36
30-49												
Under $6,000	17	32	58	11	15	32	65	21	35	33	23	49
Over $6,000	31	42	44	12	14	22	59	18	33	46	17	37
50-69												
Under $6,000	32	46	49	22	22	28	54	25	27	39	22	47
Over $6,000	40	50	48	17	20	21	54	21	34	48	17	40
70 & Over												
Under $6,000	32	54	58	22	25	33	53	35	28	37	22	46
Over $6,000	52	67	63	28	24	35	65	28	35	50	20	54

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS--1975
(PERCENT)

	MAJOR COMPANIES	ORG. RELIG.	EDUC.	FED. EXEC.	ORG. LABOR	PRESS	MEDICINE	T.V.	U.S. SUP. COURT	SCIENT. COMM.	CONGRESS	MILITARY
OCCUPATION												
Professional												
Under $6,000	31	36	50	8	4	31	39	23	27	58	23	23
Over $6,000	34	42	58	15	9	22	60	14	40	66	20	21
Managerial												
Under $6,000	27	35	42	19	15	23	58	12	31	46	19	35
Over $6,000	40	42	43	14	11	23	62	16	40	59	18	36
Clerical												
Under $6,000	20	30	28	15	13	23	60	15	18	48	20	33
Over $6,000	32	50	47	11	15	20	64	17	30	48	15	42
Skilled Workers												
Under $6,000	39	56	64	21	24	35	59	50	36	32	21	44
Over $6,000	31	41	44	13	24	28	53	25	35	49	16	46
Operatives, Laborers												
Under $6,000	28	48	62	17	30	37	58	29	31	41	21	54
Over $6,000	27	46	51	14	31	31	61	27	32	36	17	48
Farm, Farm Workers												
Under $6,000	7	29	57	14	21	29	50	29	21	7	14	43
Over $6,000	25	42	50	8	8	8	75	42	33	75	25	42
Service Workers												
Under $6,000	29	48	58	22	21	36	63	37	36	38	25	48
Over $6,000	28	48	62	7	12	19	66	24	34	35	14	41
SIZE PLACE (NORC)												
SMSA:												
250,000 and Over												
Under $6,000	28	39	50	17	17	30	54	27	22	39	19	39
Over $6,000	31	38	47	13	21	27	59	20	30	46	16	36
50,000-250,000												
Under $6,000	29	34	51	11	23	37	71	21	34	51	23	46
Over $6,000	32	46	50	17	22	27	61	22	34	45	21	37
Suburbs												
Under $6,000	45	48	45	16	18	25	48	34	30	55	23	45
Over $6,000	35	42	40	13	15	27	61	21	36	54	15	36
Unincorporated Area												
Under $6,000	8	28	39	6	6	31	53	25	19	44	11	39
Over $6,000	35	46	42	9	15	20	62	19	41	57	15	35
NON-SMSA:												
10,000-49,999												
Under $6,000	27	76	65	32	38	38	59	27	44	50	15	53
Over $6,000	29	44	67	11	15	14	64	24	25	44	16	40
2,500-9,999												
Under $6,000	15	55	64	18	18	36	70	39	46	40	33	52
Over $6,000	29	49	52	10	13	25	69	25	37	49	24	38
Small Area												
Under $6,000	23	39	69	31	23	46	54	46	39	23	31	54
Over $6,000	39	64	56	22	17	31	69	22	47	56	25	53
Open Country												
Under $6,000	31	42	54	15	23	29	59	29	27	13	17	44
Over $6,000	33	49	52	15	18	19	60	21	30	40	18	47

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS--1974 (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	MAJOR COMPANIES	RELIG.	EDUC.	FED EXEC.	LABOR	PRESS	MEDICINE	T.V.	U.S. SUP. COURT	SCIENT. COMM.	CONGRESS	MILITARY
CLASS												
Lower Class												
Under $6,000	25	43	60	8	25	35	58	21	30	33	23	38
Over $6,000	11	39	33	11	22	11	67	22	17	22	11	44
Working Class												
Under $6,000	24	40	48	17	18	32	61	31	31	40	18	45
Over $6,000	29	47	49	11	21	26	61	24	33	42	15	42
Middle Class												
Under $6,000	32	48	57	20	19	31	52	31	29	42	22	45
Over $6,000	36	42	46	14	14	23	63	18	36	57	19	35
Upper Class												
Under $6,000	39	62	46	15	39	31	54	23	23	39	23	54
Over $6,000	45	62	45	24	14	24	55	28	52	72	24	38
ETHNICITY												
Africa, W.Indies (Black)												
Under $6,000	8	39	69	15	31	26	64	34	18	13	13	44
Over $6,000	15	31	56	4	19	23	58	19	29	25	10	33
Hispanic												
Under $6,000	21	58	58	17	38	50	75	38	54	42	33	58
Over $6,000	16	41	50	6	9	9	56	9	22	34	22	44
WASP												
Under $6,000	35	40	40	25	20	23	55	18	33	48	18	50
Over $6,000	44	41	42	17	15	21	64	16	33	60	19	39
Other European Old Wave												
Under $6,000	37	46	54	17	18	32	57	28	30	52	25	42
Over $6,000	35	48	48	14	17	24	65	21	37	53	18	41
Other European New Wave												
Under $6,000	26	42	48	16	19	32	52	26	32	42	13	39
Over $6,000	29	41	42	9	22	30	52	24	32	49	17	34
Other & No Information												
Under $6,000	24	43	49	15	15	33	54	32	26	34	18	43
Over $6,000	29	45	50	13	18	26	62	24	36	43	15	36

community and Congress (also by race and income), and blacks gave these institutions considerably less support. There were some strong cleavages by education in feelings about organized labor, T.V., the scientific community and the military. By age, older people generally showed stronger support for major companies, organized religion and the federal executive. There was an inverse relationship to support for some of the other institutions by age, but the relationship appeared less strong.

Among the occupations, there were some clear differences in reactions toward organized labor, T.V., the scientific community and the military. Although there were cleavages by class, these were generally upper-or lower-class differences, and these samples were too small to be considered accurate in this question. The overwhelming majority of persons, who are among the working and middle classes, gave closely similar responses to the institutions. However, even keeping in mind its size, the observable weight of opinion of the lower class in the under $6,000 income bracket was not strongly different from that of the working or middle classes.

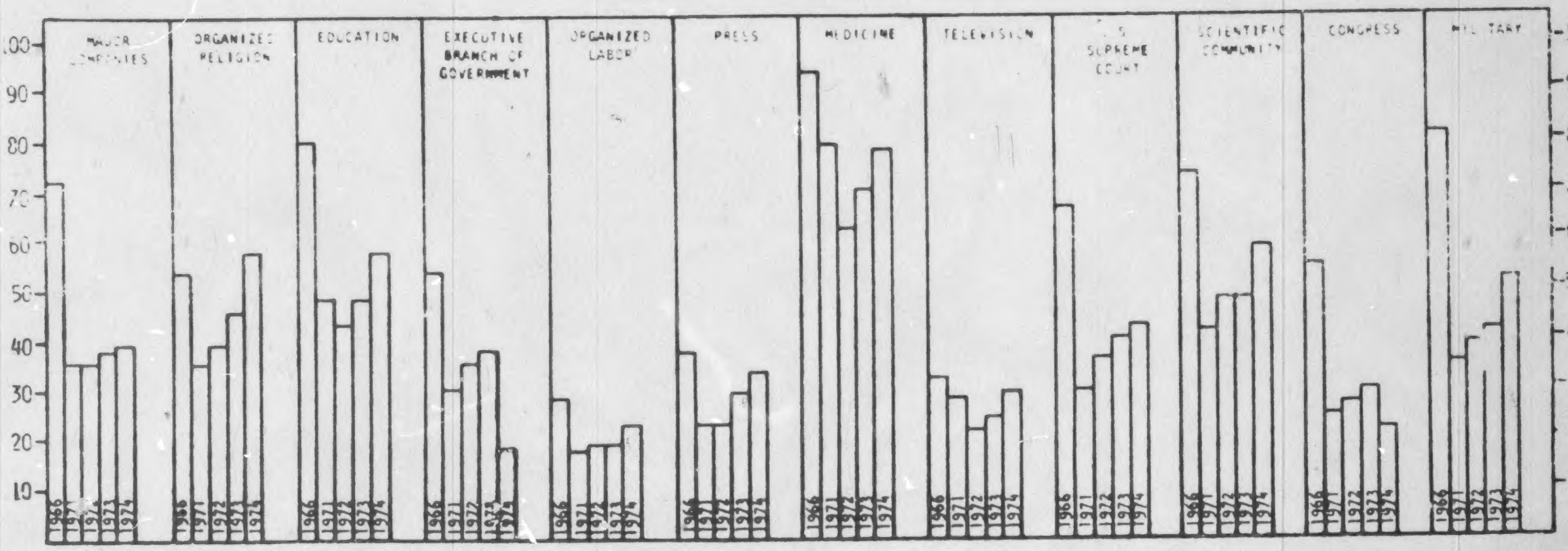
By ethnicity, the strongest cleavages can be noted in reactions to major companies, and the scientific community.

Numerous tendencies can be found among particular groups by a careful study of the table. Some samples among all the variables are too small to be useful and their sizes should be noted by referring back to the previous section on the 1974 NORC sample description. Besides giving an indication of the extent of the disaffection being felt by Americans toward the people in various institutions, my sense is that this question also gives some insight into the liberal-conservative dichotomy by presenting reactions to institutions that typify certain social, economic and ideological viewpoints. An example would be reactions to major companies or organized labor. Some of the cleavages in group reactions to these two institutions and their leaders are inherent in a long-standing pattern of classical economic and political positions. Other issues, such as education and the scientific community might represent strong social values for certain groups. Education, for instance, within the last few years has been more highly regarded by blacks than whites; and, as can be seen here, it is generally more highly esteemed by the poor (especially in the South), the less-educated and unskilled workers. In this way, this question might also be useful as a wedge to opening a way to understanding liberal-conservative group cleavages among a spectrum of issues.

Of course, overall reactions also have a kind of fleeting quality to them, based on changes in the political and social environment or on current events. For example, the blame for inflation, as reported by Gallup polls, shifted from 1959 to 1974 from labor to government. The responses to the "most important problem" question asked consistently by Gallup also dramatize opinion change resulting from current events.

In the confidence question, as well, we can see these changes taking place within an apparent growth over the last decade of disaffection and alienation among the public at large. The possible extent of this alienation was discussed in earlier portions of this study. Louis Harris surveys have been asking the confidence question for the past decade, and the trend of national response to the Harris survey as well as to two NORC polls is shown in the following chart.

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS*
NATIONAL RESPONSE, 1966-1974 (HARRIS AND NORC SURVEYS)



*The years 1966 to 1972 were charted from Harris Surveys and the 1973 and 1974 responses are from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Surveys of 1973 and 1974.

Anomie

Perhaps the most consistently clear gap between poor and non-poor responses among the NORC Social Survey questions is in the area of anomie. These questions represent a sense of helplessness or despair in relation to a hostile society in which each man looks out for himself alone. The table shows that in almost every question, the poor and near-poor felt considerably more cynical and helpless than the affluent before the condition posed by the question. When asked about making money, only about one-fourth to a third of lower-income persons considered money to be most important or the making of it amoral. Slightly less than half also thought it would be unfair to bring a child into the world because of the way things look for the future. On all other questions, however, majorities of poor and near-poor agreed to a sense of helplessness and a lack of trust in the world around them. On many of these questions, majorities of persons in the over $6,000-income level also had similar feelings, although considerably fewer held these attitudes. Perhaps the salient feature here is the consistency of the gap between the poor and non-poor response along the entire row of questions.

Other variables have a strong impact on these attitudes as well. In particular, blacks consistently feel more "lonely and blue" than whites, and education creates strong cleavages that are almost linear in their regression from grade-school to college education. The higher paid and more prestigious occupational groups also generally feel more trust and confidence than the unskilled workers. There are numerous other conspicuous cleavages, but there is a surprisingly small gap between the feelings of persons in general by region, age, social class and ethnicity.

ANOMIE

"Now I'm going to read you several more statements. Some people agree with a statement, others disagree. As I read each one, tell me whether you more or less agree with it, or more or less disagree." (Q. 54 - 1974)

A. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life.

B. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile any more.

C. To make money, there are no right and wrong ways any more, only easy ways and hard ways.

"Now I'd like your opinions on a number of different things. Some people agree with a statement, others disagree. As I read each one, tell me whether you more or less agree with it, or more or less disagree." (Q. 55 - 1974)

A. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself. Do you more or less agree with that, or more or less disagree.

B. In spite of what some people say, the lot (situation, condition) of the average man is getting worse, not better.

C. It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future.

"Now I'm going to read you several more statements. Some people agree with a statement, others disagree. As I read each one, tell me whether you more or less agree with it, more or less disagree (Q. 56 - 1974)

A. Most public officials (people in public office) are not moreover really interested in problems of the average man.

B. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

C. Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow.

ANOMIE
(Percent)

	MONEY MOST IMPORTANT	ANYTHING WORTHWHILE	MAKING MONEY	LIVE FOR TODAY	LOT GETTING WORSE	UNFAIR TO HAVE CHILD	OFFICIALS NOT INTERESTED IN AVG. MAN	NO ONE TO COUNT ON	UNCON-CERNED FOR NEIGHBOR
	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
NATIONAL									
Under $6,000	39	54	27	57	65	46	67	81	63
Over $6,000	24	40	18	38	56	31	63	73	57
RACE									
White									
Under $6,000	35	52	27	55	63	45	64	78	59
Over $6,000	22	38	17	37	54	30	61	71	55
Black									
Under $6,000	57	66	28	68	74	52	79	94	77
Over $6,000	48	56	38	53	71	45	78	92	73
EDUCATION									
Grade School or Less									
Under $6,000	46	59	30	65	73	56	71	85	71
Over $6,000	40	50	30	51	68	51	75	86	68
High School									
Under $6,000	30	46	21	45	57	36	63	79	53
Over $6,000	23	42	18	37	57	30	63	73	59
College									
Under $6,000	24	52	24	48	40	8	56	60	40
Over $6,000	9	21	5	24	36	11	46	54	36
REGION									
East									
Under $6,000	32	48	20	70	59	33	74	76	57
Over $6,000	34	42	22	44	59	28	64	76	61
Midwest									
Under $6,000	41	52	33	52	62	51	70	77	55
Over $6,000	23	42	19	[illegible]	56	31	59	72	53
South									
Under $6,000	41	61	26	57	71	47	69	87	72
Over $6,000	22	38	18	38	54	35	66	73	61
West									
Under $6,000	39	50	27	53	63	49	54	77	57
Over $6,000	19	36	13	25	54	30	61	69	49
AGE									
Under 30									
Under $6,000	24	53	31	53	63	44	63	77	54
Over $6,000	17	43	23	40	57	28	61	71	63
30-49									
Under $6,000	36	58	24	56	73	49	74	88	64
Over $6,000	21	38	16	38	59	31	63	71	53
50-69									
Under $6,000	40	52	26	61	59	41	66	79	63
Over $6,000	34	41	18	35	51	33	64	77	57
70 and Older									
Under $6,000	53	56	25	58	68	52	67	82	71
Over $6,000	37	35	17	41	52	46	59	78	50

ANOMIE (cont'd.)

	MONEY MOST IMPORTANT	ANYTHING WORTHWHILE	MAKING MONEY	LIVE FOR TODAY	LOT GETTING WORSE	UNFAIR TO HAVE CHILD	OFFICIALS NOT INTERESTED IN AVG. MAN	NO ONE TO COUNT ON	UNCON-CERNED FOR NEIGHBOR
	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
RELIGION									
Protestant									
Under $6,000	41	54	26	58	68	50	69	84	68
Over $6,000	22	40	17	40	54	33	64	74	58
Catholic									
Under $6,000	39	59	32	61	59	44	57	75	48
Over $6,000	29	40	19	36	59	27	62	72	56
None									
Under $6,000	22	50	19	47	59	34	78	75	59
Over $6,000	27	37	24	34	34	34	58	71	48
OCCUPATION									
Professional									
Under $6,000	23	31	19	54	46	15	54	65	42
Over $6,000	10	22	6	26	45	17	53	60	42
Managerial Sales									
Under $6,000	42	62	19	39	69	42	65	81	69
Over $6,000	21	28	10	26	38	18	48	60	45
Clerical									
Under $6,000	28	54	3	40	65	41	68	78	55
Over $6,000	21	35	15	45	54	26	65	73	54
Skilled Workers									
Under $6,000	29	41	32	50	53	35	77	85	71
Over $6,000	29	48	26	37	65	37	67	71	64
Operatives, Laborers									
Under $6,000	38	64	44	67	74	58	74	88	64
Over $6,000	38	53	35	49	73	50	77	90	71
Farm, Farm Workers									
Under $6,000	36	64	21	57	86	71	93	93	86
Over $6,000	58	25	17	42	42	33	58	67	50
Service Workers									
Under $6,000	47	52	26	69	63	47	62	77	62
Over $6,000	31	54	20	48	62	47	71	84	64
SIZE PLACE (NORC)									
SMSA:									
250,000 and Over									
Under $6,000	36	52	17	53	63	36	62	76	55
Over $6,000	25	39	18	36	58	29	68	72	59
50,000-250,000									
Under $6,000	34	57	26	57	54	60	57	77	57
Over $6,000	26	37	18	43	55	27	55	71	55
Suburbs									
Under $6,000	43	48	25	48	55	47	75	80	61
Over $6,000	27	40	20	39	57	31	64	72	56
Unincorporated Area									
Under $6,000	39	44	31	58	69	36	78	78	67
Over $6,000	21	37	17	36	52	29	56	73	57
NON-SMSA:									
10,000-49,999									
Under $6,000	53	68	32	59	59	41	56	88	50
Over $6,000	21	44	24	35	65	41	60	78	60
2,500-9,999									
Under $6,000	33	61	33	61	67	58	64	82	67
Over $6,000	24	32	21	40	47	27	62	66	53
Small Area									
Under $6,000	62	62	62	54	85	77	77	100	85
Over $6,000	11	33	11	22	47	31	50	75	47
Open Country									
Under $6,000	31	55	29	71	81	52	71	85	79
Over $6,000	27	50	16	44	60	43	74	78	60

ANOMIE (cont'd.)

	IMPORTANT	ANYTHING WORTHWHILE	MAKING MONEY	LIVE FOR TODAY	LOT GETTING WORSE	UNFAIR TO HAVE CHILD	OFFICIALS NOT INTERESTED IN AVG. MAN	NO ONE TO COUNT ON	UNCONCERNED FOR NEIGHBOR
	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
CLASS									
Lower Class									
Under $6,000	33	63	25	65	73	53	65	90	60
Over $6,000	22	61	22	50	72	61	61	78	56
Working Class									
Under $6,000	37	55	27	57	64	43	69	81	61
Over $6,000	27	49	25	45	66	42	72	81	64
Middle Class									
Under $6,000	39	50	28	53	62	47	65	79	65
Over $6,000	23	30	13	31	47	21	54	65	50
Upper Class									
Under $6,000	70	62	31	62	69	67	77	77	69
Over $6,000	21	35	11	35	48	14	55	62	55
ETHNICITY									
Africa, W. Indies (Black)									
Under $6,000	54	64	18	64	69	44	77	92	77
Over $6,000	46	52	46	60	79	45	85	96	73
Hispanic									
Under $6,000	50	71	25	58	63	42	63	79	42
Over $6,000	23	45	13	41	72	31	84	84	72
WASP									
Under $6,000	43	43	25	55	70	45	63	83	60
Over $6,000	20	34	11	31	51	26	61	73	52
Other European Old Wave									
Under $6,000	33	50	24	51	60	46	64	76	62
Over $6,000	22	38	16	39	53	30	58	68	54
Other European New Wave									
Under $6,000	36	50	29	68	58	42	61	68	52
Over $6,000	27	45	24	37	57	33	59	79	54
Other & No Information									
Under $6,000	36	58	33	59	69	51	72	84	66
Over $6,000	26	40	20	38	57	34	66	70	60

Ethnicity and income together create strongly consistent gaps between income levels. The same appears to be true, on selected questions, for size of place.

The alienation question was elaborated on in terms of its social and political impact in the first section of this report. A series of Harris surveys, measuring "alienation," reveal a trend toward a greater sense of helplessness and distrust among the population nationally since 1966. The results are given in the table on the following page; in addition, tables are included that show a four-year trend of black response and a comparison of national, black and low-income white feelings in 1966.

Two further tables show the responses to questions on satisfaction with the future and honesty asked by Gallup in the decade from 1963 to 1973. Little more than half of all Americans in 1973 felt happy about the future facing them and their families, and less than one-quarter were satisfied with today's standards of behavior and honesty. Other Gallup polls taken in December 1949 and July 1968 also revealed little enthusiasm throughout the two decades for prevailing morals and honesty, although the feeling that morals were worsening seemed to increase considerably in the 1960s.[*]

Harris survey data on blacks also showed that their hopes for the future and feelings that things were getting better for them declined in 1970 from the optimism previously felt.[**]

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[*] Gallup polls of December 1949 and October 1963 in Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Morality," Public Opinion Quarterly, 30 (Winter 1966-67), pp. 669-670 and of July 1968 in the Gallup Opinion Index, No. 44, February 1969, pp. 47 and 48.

[**] Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion 1970 (New York: Louis Harris and Associates, 1971), p. 233.

ALIENATION

QUESTION: "Do you tend to feel or not feel (Read list)?" *

	PERCENT "TEND TO FEEL"					
	1966	1968	1971	1972	1973	1974
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	45	54	62	68	76	79
Special interests get more from the government than the people do	x	x	x	x	74	78
The tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man	x	x	x	74	74	75
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	26	36	41	50	55	63
Most elective officials are in politics for all they personally can get out of it for themselves	x	x	x	x	60	62
What you think doesn't count anymore	37	42	44	53	61	60
You feel left out of things going on around you	9	12	20	25	29	32

X = not asked

* Source: Harris Surveys

BLACK ALIENATION

QUESTION: "Do you tend to feel or not feel (Read list)?" *

	PERCENT "TEND TO FEEL"		
	1966	1968	1970
	%	%	%
The rich get richer, the poor get poorer	49	57	75
What I personally think doesn't count very much	40	61	44
Other people get lucky breaks	35	x	x
People running the country don't really care what happens to people like me	32	52	53
Few people understand how it is to live like I live	32	66	54
Almost nobody understands the problems facing me	30	52	x
Important things in the world don't affect my life	12	45	23
I feel left out of things	x	43	40

X = not asked

* Source: Harris Surveys

POOR ALIENATION — 1966

QUESTION: From time to time do you tend to feel that...?*

	National	Negroes	Low Income Whites
	%	%	%
Rich get richer, poor get poorer	48	49	68
What you think doesn't count much	39	40	60
People in power don't care about us	28	32	50
Other people get lucky breaks	19	35	37
Important events in the world don't affect me	18	12	26
Few understand how I live	18	32	36
Nobody understands problems I have	17	30	40

*Source: Harris Survey, 1966.

SATISFACTION WITH THE FUTURE*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THE FUTURE FACING YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?"

	% SATISFIED			
	1963	BEG 1971	END 1971	1973
NATIONAL	64%	55%	58%	53%
RACE				
WHITE	67	56	59	55
NON-WHITE	45	43	47	37
EDUCATION				
COLLEGE		63	66	65
HIGH SCHOOL		50	55	49
GRADE SCHOOL		58	57	47
INCOME				
$20,000 & OVER		--	--	70
$15,000 - 19,999		65	66	58
$10,000 - 14,999		52	64	52
$ 7,000 - 9,999		54	58	50
$ 5,000 - 6,999		51	54	51
$ 3,000 - 4,999		53	55	38
UNDER $3,000		58	49	46
OCCUPATION				
PROF. & BUS		64	65	67
CLERICAL & SALES**		59	65	49
MANUAL WORKERS		49	52	47
NON-LABOR FORCE		--	--	50
FARMERS		47	57	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

SATISFACTION WITH HONESTY*

QUESTION: "ON THE WHOLE WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THE HONESTY AND STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR OF PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY TODAY?"

% SATISFIED

	1963	1973
NATIONAL	34%	22%
RACE		
WHITE		24
NON-WHITE		14
EDUCATION		
COLLEGE		25
HIGH SCHOOL		20
GRADE SCHOOL		25
INCOME		
$20,000 & OVER		23
$15,000 - 19,999		24
$10,000 - 14,999		20
$ 7,000 - 9,999		22
$ 5,000 - 6,999		22
$ 3,000 - 4,999		26
UNDER $3,000		20
OCCUPATION		
PROF. & BUS		23
CLERICAL & SALES**		19
MANUAL WORKERS		21
NON-LABOR FORCE		23

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

Happiness and Satisfaction

The outstanding area in the NORC survey in which satisfaction differs most greatly between the under and over $6,000 income levels is that of health: considerably fewer of the poor and near-poor get a very great or a great deal of satisfaction from their health and physical condition, and many fewer feel their health is excellent or good. Following health, 10 percentage point differences are observable between satisfaction with family life and non-work activities, as well as the personal feeling of being very happy. Despite the disparity in reaction to family life, happiness with marriage evoked closely similar responses between the two income levels. In the general life outlook, persons in families earning over $6,000 clearly felt life to be more exciting than those in the low-income level.

The issue of happiness and feelings of well-being was examined in some detail in the first section of this paper and carried through to the discussion of hopes and fears in the second section. Evidence from social research shows that, more than any other variable, higher income relates to a greater feeling of happiness.

On the NORC table, cleavages by income levels among education groups can be noted. Within the same income level, education seems to have a minimal effect, except in the areas of health and life outlook, in which the grade-school educated seem to derive considerably less satisfaction. Happiness in marriage presents an unclear picture, but the grade-school educated appear, on the whole, to get somewhat less satisfaction from marriage.

There are some cleavages by race, particularly in the place where they live, friendships, health and personal happiness; but the responses of whites and blacks are often similar on the same income level, although differing between the two income levels.

Surprisingly, by age, older people show themselves to be happier in most facets of life than the young. The clearest exception to this is in the area of health. Even in their life outlook, older persons do not show themselves to be less excited by life than those in other age groups. Clear differences, however, can be observed among numerous issues because of income coupled with age.

In general, the strongest observable gaps between feelings of happiness and satisfaction are based on income difference. There appears to be a somewhat greater sense of happiness and well-being among persons in the middle class compared to those in the working class. There is no clear difference, however, in the weight of opinion between the lower class and the two other major classes. Reactions by ethnicity and income are mixed and vary from issue to issue, offering no clear pattern on a first-cut view.

Gallup polls concerning various satisfactions have been taken at points in time over the last decade. I have compiled these into tables which are shown on the following pages. Some of the satisfactions, such as housing, work and income have interesting points of comparison with a much earlier poll, taken in 1949.

HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION

"For each area of life I am going to name, tell me the number that shows how much satisfaction you get from that area." (Q. 49, 1974) (A very great deal, a great deal, quite a bit, a fair amount, some, a little, none, don't know.)

A. The city or place you live in
B. Your non-working activities--hobbies and so on
C. Your family life
D. Your friendships
E. Your health and physical condition

Ask only if currently married: "Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage? Would you say that your marriage is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (Q. 50, 1974)

"Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair or poor?" (Q. 52, 1974)

"Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (Q. 49, 1973)

"In general, do you find life exciting, pretty routine, or dull?" (Q. 53, 1974)

HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION
(PERCENT)

	A VERY GREAT DEAL & A GREAT DEAL OF SATISFACTION FROM:					HAPPINESS MARRIAGE	HEALTH EXCELLENT	PERSONAL HAPPINESS	LIFE OUTLOOK		
	PLACE	ACTIVITY	FAMILY LIFE	FRIENDSHIPS	HEALTH	VERY HAPPY	AND GOOD	VERY HAPPY	EXCITING	ROUTINE	DULL
NATIONAL											
Under $6,000	45	47	69	67	47	66	53	29	34	55	10
Over $6,000	46	57	80	74	66	69	80	38	47	50	2
RACE											
White											
Under $6,000	47	47	70	69	49	67	55	33	37	52	10
Over $6,000	47	58	80	74	67	69	81	40	47	50	2
Black											
Under $6,000	34	43	62	57	39	60	45	13	24	65	10
Over $6,000	35	49	81	65	59	63	71	21	48	49	4
EDUCATION											
Grade School or Less											
Under $6,000	48	44	71	66	42	62	41	32	27	58	14
Over $6,000	51	57	79	74	60	67	69	37	40	57	3
High School											
Under $6,000	41	49	65	68	57	80	71	26	43	54	3
Over $6,000	45	57	80	74	70	67	83	41	45	52	2
College											
Under $6,000	28	52	60	64	40	56	72	17	56	32	12
Over $6,000	42	59	80	71	66	77	87	33	64	40	1
REGION											
East											
Under $6,000	33	44	69	72	50	65	59	25	30	62	8
Over $6,000	42	55	77	73	69	72	86	33	49	48	3
Midwest											
Under $6,000	39	48	70	65	50	53	55	35	30	62	8
Over $6,000	43	54	83	77	67	64	77	40	42	56	2
South											
Under $6,000	53	44	69	70	44	68	45	31	35	48	14
Over $6,000	55	63	83	73	68	75	80	43	50	48	2
West											
Under $6,000	41	50	64	57	47	79	61	21	42	52	6
Over $6,000	43	57	72	68	59	64	79	35	52	45	2
AGE											
Under 30											
Under $6,000	28	39	67	59	64	74	80	20	44	49	7
Over $6,000	29	56	74	71	69	67	91	31	52	45	3
30-49											
Under $6,000	32	36	61	58	44	64	50	30	27	64	10
Over $6,000	47	55	82	71	69	66	83	39	47	51	2
50-69											
Under $6,000	46	51	68	68	35	60	38	31	28	58	12
Over $6,000	59	63	81	77	63	73	71	43	42	56	2
70 and Older											
Under $6,000	72	58	78	81	47	71	47	37	38	50	11
Over $6,000	61	50	87	87	50	81	50	52	53	42	4

HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	A VERY GREAT DEAL & A GREAT DEAL OF SATISFACTION FROM:					HAPPINESS MARRIAGE	HEALTH EXCELLENT	PERSONAL HAPPINESS	LIFE OUTLOOK		
	PLACE	ACTIVITY	FAMILY LIFE	FRIEND-SHIPS	HEALTH	VERY HAPPY	AND GOOD	VERY HAPPY	EXCITING	ROUTINE	DULL
OCCUPATION											
Professional											
Under $6,000	31	54	54	50	39	57	58	20	54	39	8
Over $6,000	48	61	83	75	63	7[illegible]	84	37	61	37	2
Managerial, Sales											
Under $6,000	54	58	54	54	19	50	58	44	40	48	12
Over $6,000	50	62	77	72	72	71	89	39	64	36	1
Clerical											
Under $6,000	38	50	70	83	60	73	70	28	44	49	8
Over $6,000	46	55	73	75	71	70	80	44	39	57	3
Skilled Workers											
Under $6,000	50	44	82	76	62	85	71	33	33	61	6
Over $6,000	42	68	80	76	75	66	82	35	48	52	1
Operatives, Laborers											
Under $6,000	46	43	63	63	45	59	43	25	29	58	11
Over $6,000	46	53	78	70	59	65	71	36	28	44	22
Farm, Farm Workers											
Under $6,000	43	43	64	64	29	38	14	25	21	43	29
Over $6,000	75	58	92	92	67	64	75	42	50	25	8
Service Workers											
Under $6,000	44	48	71	67	48	70	50	31	31	58	11
Over $6,000	38	47	75	65	61	65	76	35	37	39	22
SIZE PLACE (NORC)											
SMSA											
250,000 and Over											
Under $6,000	27	42	66	66	48	60	65		40	50	10
Over $6,000	43	58	78	73	63	70	78		53	43	3
50,000-250,000											
Under $6,000	40	51	69	69	46	77	46		31	60	9
Over $6,000	31	59	80	76	71	63	79		51	48	2
Suburbs								- NA -			
Under $6,000	43	52	59	57	34	79	59		28	60	12
Over $6,000	43	57	77	73	65	89	79		41	54	3
Unincorporated Area											
Under $6,000	47	53	70	64	58	84	70		37	51	9
Over $6,000	52	60	80	76	72	75	91		54	43	2
NON-SMSA											
10,000-49,999											
Under $6,000	62	56	71	71	41	55	41		36	58	6
Over $6,000	38	49	83	64	59	79	75		48	52	0
2,500-9,999											
Under $6,000	58	46	88	85	52	47	45		40	60	0
Over $6,000	50	53	75	66	63	68	79		39	61	0
Small Area								- NA -			
Under $6,000	54	39	77	62	62	80	51		8	85	8
Over $6,000	56	56	92	83	78	63	83		43	57	0
Open Country											
Under $6,000	58	38	61	63	46	61	38		31	46	19
Over $6,000	62	59	85	78	66	60	76		40	58	3

HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	A VERY GREAT DEAL & A GREAT DEAL OF SATISFACTION FROM:					HAPPINESS MARRIAGE	HEALTH EXCELLENT	PERSONAL HAPPINESS	LIFE OUTLOOK		
	PLACE	ACTIVITY	FAMILY LIFE	FRIENDSHIPS	HEALTH	VERY HAPPY	AND GOOD	VERY HAPPY	EXCITING	ROUTINE	DULL
CLASS											
Lower Class											
Under $6,000	38	28	55	60	38	58	41	15	28	60	13
Over $6,000	39	33	67	56	50	55	72	25	35	59	6
Working Class											
Under $6,000	41	45	65	63	48	64	54	28	33	58	8
Over $6,000	41	53	79	71	62	63	75	35	38	59	3
Middle Class											
Under $6,000	51	53	77	77	51	73	54	35	38	51	10
Over $6,000	50	62	82	76	71	74	85	42	56	43	1
Upper Class											
Under $6,000	54	62	77	62	31	75	62	44	39	39	23
Over $6,000	48	59	72	83	66	94	83	30	62	35	3
ETHNICITY											
Africa, W.Indies (Black)											
Under $6,000	38	46	54	66	36	44	42	12	24	60	16
Over $6,000	38	50	43	58	63	57	77	21	50	48	2
Hispanic											
Under $6,000	33	21	71	63	50	83	58	16	36	59	5
Over $6,000	38	38	66	50	56	58	72	35	39	58	0
WASP											
Under $6,000	45	58	70	68	50	74	53	41	45	40	13
Over $6,000	51	57	84	73	72	71	85	49	56	41	2
Other European Old Wave											
Under $6,000	45	52	67	69	47	62	61	26	39	52	10
Over $6,000	47	57	77	76	68	68	80	38	44	53	2
Other European New Wave											
Under $6,000	42	45	74	71	45	69	52	24	16	65	19
Over $6,000	49	58	82	77	63	68	80	37	43	53	5
Other & No Information											
Under $6,000	48	43	71	68	49	69	50	35	34	58	6
Over $6,000	42	63	81	74	64	73	78	37	49	49	2

SATISFACTION INDEX--QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

QUESTION: Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the quality of life in your community?

	PERCENT SATISFIED	
	1971	1973
NATIONAL	75	75
SEX		
Male	76	76
Female	74	75
RACE		
White	78	79
Nonwhite	51	48
EDUCATION		
College	73	76
High School	75	76
Grade School	77	73
OCCUPATION		
Professional & Business	75	78
White Collar	75	--
Clerical and sales	--	79
Farmers	80	--
Manual	73	74
Non-labor force	--	71
AGE		
18-20 years	70	--
18-24 years	--	72
21-29 years	65	--
25-29 years	--	73
30-49 years	76	79
50 and over	81	75
RELIGION		
Protestant	77	77
Catholic	73	78
Jewish	--	--
POLITICS		
Republican	83	85
Democrat	73	72
Independent	73	75
REGION		
East	73	72
Midwest	80	81
South	73	73
West	72	75
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	--	86
$15,000-$19,999	--	78
$15,000 and over	79	--
$10,000-$14,999	77	79
$ 7,000-$ 9,999	73	75
$ 5,000-$ 6,999	75	70
$ 3,000-$ 4,999	71	65
Under $3,000	73	67
COMMUNITY SIZE		
1,000,000 and over	61	71
500,000-999,999	77	69
50,000-499,999	69	73
2,500-49,999	81	76
Under 2,500, Rural	84	83

SOURCE: Gallup Opinion Index, No. 76, October 1971, p. 18 and No. 110, August 1974, p. 12.

SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH YOUR HOUSING SITUATION?"

% SATISFIED

	1949	1963	1966	1969	BEG 1971	END 1971	1973
NATIONAL	-- %	72%	75%	78%	73%	74%	74%
RACE							
WHITE	67	76	77	80	77	77	77
NON-WHITE	59	43	51	50	51	44	52
EDUCATION							
COLLEGE			82	84	83	87	79
HIGH SCHOOL			75	76	72	71	74
GRADE SCHOOL			72	75	67	68	65
INCOME							
$20,000 & OVER			--	--	--	--	89
$15,000 - 19,999			--	--	86	85	84
$10,000 - 14,999			--	83	77	78	77
$ 7,000 - 9,999			79	80	69	76	65
$ 5,000 - 6,999			77	75	74	68	69
$ 3,000 - 4,999			69	73	67	70	64
UNDER $3,000			70	75	69	59	60
OCCUPATION							
PROF. & BUS.			82	84	83	84	82
CLERICAL & SALES**			75	74	77	77	75
MANUAL WORKERS			71	74	67	69	71
NON-LABOR FORCE			--	--	--	--	71
FARMERS			74	85	73	82	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

SATISFACTION WITH EDUCATION*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH YOUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION?"

% SATISFIED

	1963	1966	1969	BEG 1971	END 1971	1973
NATIONAL....................	66%	74%	64%	63%	60%	61%
RACE						
WHITE.....................	63	76	65	63	60	63
NON-WHITE.................	42	64	53	57	53	49
EDUCATION						
COLLEGE...................		72	63	56	60	60
HIGH SCHOOL...............		74	65	64	60	63
GRADE SCHOOL..............		76	61	68	58	58
INCOME						
$20,000 & OVER...........		--	--	--	--	70
$15,000 - 19,999.........		--	--	68	58	68
$10,000 - 14,999.........		--	70	65	66	68
$ 7,000 - 9,999.........		76	68	59	58	53
$ 5,000 - 6,999.........		75	61	60	60	54
$ 3,000 - 4,999.........		68	61	57	57	54
UNDER $3,000.............		77	54	64	53	50
OCCUPATION						
PROF. & BUS..............		75	68	61	60	68
CLERICAL & SALES**.......		76	67	61	54	63
MANUAL WORKERS...........		73	63	65	63	62
NON-LABOR FORCE..........		--	--	--	--	48
FARMERS..................		76	74	73	74	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

SATISFACTION WITH STANDARD OF LIVING*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING?"—% SATISFIED

	1963	END 1971	1973
NATIONAL....................	77%	78%	71%
RACE			
WHITE.....................		80	74
NON-WHITE.................		53	48
EDUCATION			
COLLEGE...................		85	77
HIGH SCHOOL...............		76	70
GRADE SCHOOL..............		72	64
INCOME			
$20,000 & OVER............		--	89
$15,000 - 19,999..........		66	77
$10,000 - 14,999..........		65	73
$ 7,000 - 9,999..........		57	70
$ 5,000 - 6,999..........		53	66
$ 3,000 - 4,999..........		55	54
UNDER $3,000..............		49	60
OCCUPATION			
PROF. & BUS...............		86	79
CLERICAL & SALES**........		82	64
MANUAL WORKERS............		72	69
NON-LABOR FORCE...........		--	66
FARMERS...................		79	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

SATISFACTION WITH INCOME*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH YOUR FAMILY INCOME?"

% SATISFIED

	1949	1963	1966	1969	1971	1973
NATIONAL....................	%	64%	65%	65%	62%	61%
RACE						
WHITE....................	50	68	67	67	65	64
NON-WHITE................	34	38	45	44	41	38
EDUCATION						
COLLEGE..................			74	68	70	66
HIGH SCHOOL..............			66	68	59	59
GRADE SCHOOL.............			59	59	63	59
INCOME						
$20,000 & OVER...........			--	--	--	82
$15,000 - 19,999.........			--	--	79	73
$10,000 - 14,999.........			--	80	65	69
$ 7,000 - 9,999.........			76	74	60	51
$ 5,000 - 6,999.........			65	58	57	45
$ 3,000 - 4,999.........			55	59	56	49
UNDER $3,000.............			52	49	54	44
OCCUPATION						
PROF. & BUS..............			75	74	76	70
CLERICAL & SALES**.......			68	66	60	50
MANUAL WORKERS...........			62	64	58	59
NON-LABOR FORCE..........			--	--	--	60
FARMERS..................			60	58	60	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

SATISFACTION WITH WORK*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THE WORK YOU DO?"

% SATISFIED

	1949	1963	1966	1969	BEG. 1971	END 1971	1973
NATIONAL	67%	85%	86%	87%	81%	84%	79%
RACE							
WHITE	69	90	87	88	84	85	82
NON-WHITE	55	54	69	76	63	73	55
EDUCATION							
COLLEGE	78	92	91	91	87	88	82
HIGH SCHOOL	70	86	87	89	84	84	80
GRADE SCHOOL	59	80	81	81	77	78	71
INCOME							
$20,000 & OVER			--	--	--	--	91
$15,000 - 19,999			--	--	91	95	88
$10,000 - 14,999			--	94	86	88	85
$ 7,000 - 9,999			92	92	82	87	83
$ 5,000 - 6,999			86	87	82	82	70
$ 3,000 - 4,999			83	82	73	69	66
UNDER $3,000			77	75	70	72	54
OCCUPATION							
PROF. & BUS	80	76	94	94	91	93	87
CLERICAL & SALES**	70	78	89	92	84	86	78
MANUAL WORKERS	61	67	86	86	83	84	83
NON-LABOR FORCE			--		--	--	63
FARMERS			87	92	86	89	--

*GALLUP POLLS

**PRIOR TO 1973 CLERICAL & SALES WAS RECORDED AS WHITE COLLAR

Work

In general, by each income level and variable, the majority of Americans believe that people get ahead by hard work. Approximately another one-fifth feel it is a combination of hard work and luck; very few think it is luck alone. Exceptions to this can be noted on the table.

On a national scale, there is relatively little difference between the responses by the two income levels. The under $6,000 registers two percentage points higher in the belief in hard work, but also six percentage points more in favor of luck alone. The over $6,000 income level believes significantly more in a combination of hard work and luck pulling one through.

There is little difference in response to this question by race and education. There are some stronger cleavages by region (with the South casting a stronger vote for hard work) by age, religion, occupation, size of place and ethnicity. These cleavages are generally mild. Response by self-reported social class shows a slight difference between the working and middle-class responses: stronger differences are found here by income and class, with working class persons in poor families being more inclined to regard hard work as most important for getting ahead. The lower class tends more to belief in luck as an important ingredient.

Responses by ethnicity show persons of Hispanic origin most strongly believing in hard work; and new wave Europeans and more affluent blacks having less regard for hard-work as the reason for success than other ethnic groups.

Regarding job characteristics, both the poor and the more affluent feel that the feeling of accomplishment is what they would most prefer in a job. The poor and near-poor understandably also feel significantly more inclined than the other group to prefer a high income and advancement in a job. But there are stronger cleavages by other variables than by income. Reactions by race provide a somewhat different picture: blacks of both income levels are significantly more inclined to getting a high income than having a feeling of accomplishment. Educational level has an even stronger impact on response. Region and income create significant cleavages; age shows interesting pragmatic differences. The college-educated, those reporting no religion, professionals, the middle class and WASPS in the over $6,000 income level strongly think that the feeling of accomplishment is the most preferable characteristic of a job.

The majority of all persons report they would continue to work even if they were to get enough money to live as comfortably as they would like for the rest of their lives. There is no difference in the response to this question by the two income levels nationally. There are some strong cleavages by other variables, the outstanding ones being education, occupation, and social class: the college-educated, middle-class professional would be more inclined to continue working.

The question on job satisfaction shows a significant difference in response by income on a national basis, but much stronger cleavages by all other variables.

About one-third of the poor and near-poor and one-fourth of the affluent report that they had been unemployed and looking for a job for as long as one month during the last ten years. Blacks more than whites, the lower-income high-school educated, the young, poor Catholics and those reporting no religion, the poor in large cities, the lower-class and persons with a new wave-European background report a higher incidence of unemployment.

WORK

"Some people say that people get ahead by their own hard work; others say that lucky breaks or help from other people are more important. Which do you think is more important?" (Q. 45, 1974)

Hard work most important
Hard work, luck equally important
Luck most important
Other
Don't know
No answer

"(1) Would you please look at this card and tell me which one thing on this list you would most prefer in a job? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN COLUMN A. (2) Which comes next? (3) Which is third most important? (4) Which is fourth most important?" (Q. 46, 1974)

A. High Income
B. No danger of being fired
C. Working hours are short, lots of free time
D. Chances for advancement
E. Work important and gives a feeling of accomplishment

Ask only if respondent was working full or part time last week: "If you were to get enough money to live comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working?" (Q. 47, 1974)

Ask only if respondent is currently employed, or keeping house: "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do--would you say you are very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?" (Q. 48, 1974)

"At any time during the last ten years, have you been unemployed and looking for work for as long as a month?" (Q. 16, 1974)

"Did you ever--because of sickness, unemployment, or any other reason--receive anything like welfare, unemployment insurance, or other aid from government agencies?" (Q. 17, 1974)

WORK
(PERCENT)

	GETTING AHEAD BY:			JOB CHARACTERISTICS: MOST IMPORTANT								
	HARD WORK	HARD WORK & LUCK	LUCK	HIGH INCOME	NO DANGER OF BEING FIRED	SHORT HOURS	ADVANCE-MENT	FEELING OF ACCOMP.	WORK* IF RICH YES	JOB** SATIS. VERY SATIS.	UNEMPLOYED IN LAST 10 YEARS FOR ONE MONTH YES	EVER RECEIVE GOVERNMENT AID? YES
NATIONAL												
Under $6,000	63	22	13	22	10	5	21	43	63	41	34	45
Over $6,000	61	30	7	17	7	5	17	55	64	49	24	29
RACE												
White												
Under $6,000	63	22	13	18	11	4	22	46	63	45	31	42
Over $6,000	62	29	7	15	7	5	16	58	64	50	24	28
Black												
Under $6,000	63	23	12	38	6	8	19	30	63	26	46	57
Over $6,000	54	38	8	37	10	6	23	25	58	37	29	33
EDUCATION												
Grade School or Less												
Under $6,000	62	23	13	29	11	6	20	34	56	41	29	50
Over $6,000	64	26	8	24	12	6	20	38	56	40	22	35
High School												
Under $6,000	65	21	12	12	9	2	25	52	66	41	41	38
Over $6,000	60	32	7	18	5	5	17	56	60	51	26	30
College												
Under $6,000	60	24	16	4	4	4	9	78	80	39	44	28
Over $6,000	61	27	8	5	5	6	11	74	80	56	23	15
REGION												
East												
Under $6,000	59	28	11	15	7	4	19	56	70	46	39	46
Over $6,000	51	37	11	22	8	7	16	49	62	46	23	29
Midwest												
Under $6,000	52	32	13	15	12	4	31	39	62	25	34	44
Over $6,000	64	30	5	14	8	3	19	57	59	49	25	31
South												
Under $6,000	72	15	12	33	8	6	15	39	62	50	31	41
Over $6,000	68	25	6	18	6	6	17	52	68	56	21	19
West												
Under $6,000	61	20	14	15	12	5	22	46	61	37	37	50
Over $6,000	60	27	10	12	5	5	14	64	67	45	32	39
AGE												
Under 30												
Under $6,000	56	22	19	14	13	3	26	44	65	28	60	37
Over $6,000	64	25	10	14	10	5	22	51	69	43	44	24
30-49												
Under $6,000	73	18	8	33	3	2	14	49	66	31	49	58
Over $6,000	61	33	5	20	5	4	13	59	64	49	22	30
50-69												
Under $6,000	61	27	11	24	11	5	19	42	59	48	24	51
Over $6,000	59	30	8	16	7	7	17	53	56	57	13	32
70 and Older												
Under $6,000	67	20	11	17	11	8	25	39	50	74	6	34
Over $6,000	65	28	4	9	11	5	23	52	86	57	2	22

*Asked only if respondent is working full or part time in last week.

**Asked of those currently employed or keeping house.

WORK (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	GETTING AHEAD BY:			JOB CHARACTERISTICS: MOST IMPORTANT					WORK OF RICH	JOB* SATIS.	UNEMPLOYED IN LAST 10 YEARS FOR ONE MONTH	EVER RECEIVE GOVERNMENT AID?
	HARD WORK	HARD WORK & LUCK	LUCK	HIGH INCOME	NO DANGER OF BEING FIRED	SHORT HOURS	ADVANCEMENT	FEELING OF ACCOMP.	YES	VERY SATIS.	YES	YES
RELIGION												
Protestant												
Under $6,000	67	19	12	22	8	5	25	41	58	44	27	45
Over $6,000	65	28	6	18	6	6	17	53	63	52	23	27
Catholic												
Under $6,000	60	28	12	24	19	4	11	43	72	36	48	41
Over $6,000	59	31	9	14	9	4	19	54	62	47	24	30
None												
Under $6,000	41	28	22	16	3	7	23	52	70	32	53	50
Over $6,000	54	31	14	15	3	7	7	68	68	40	41	37
OCCUPATION												
Professional												
Under $6,000	58	23	12	13	4	13	0	71	93	42	39	31
Over $6,000	61	29	8	6	5	6	9	75	75	60	20	18
Managerial, Sales												
Under $6,000	77	15	8	8	19	4	23	46	40	31	27	39
Over $6,000	58	31	8	11	3	4	20	63	71	61	16	16
Clerical												
Under $6,000	53	38	10	10	8	0	15	68	62	39	40	38
Over $6,000	62	30	7	20	6	4	17	54	49	47	24	27
Skilled Workers												
Under $6,000	65	18	18	18	18	0	29	35	55	46	29	53
Over $6,000	57	34	6	20	12	11	12	45	64	46	36	46
Operatives, Laborers												
Under $6,000	67	16	17	22	11	4	29	34	55	30	38	52
Over $6,000	62	31	6	24	11	5	23	37	61	39	30	44
Farm, Farm Workers												
Under $6,000	50	14	29	50	17	0	25	8	50	20	29	43
Over $6,000	67	25	0	8	0	0	17	75	80	60	17	33
Service Workers												
Under $6,000	60	29	8	29	4	10	15	42	71	52	37	44
Over $6.000	63	28	9	22	5	5	15	53	53	41	25	32
SIZE PLACE (NORC)												
SMSA												
250,000 and Over												
Under $6,000	57	31	9	18	8	4	17	52	66	32	50	44
Over $6,000	60	28	9	18	8	6	18	50	62	45	34	31
50,000-250,000												
Under $6,000	69	17	14	14	9	3	29	46	56	40	37	60
Over $6,000	59	31	9	17	5	9	25	45	61	51	28	36
Suburbs												
Under $6,000	56	32	11	16	16	4	18	45	61	40	28	45
Over $6,000	60	31	7	17	8	5	12	58	60	48	22	26
Unincorporated Area												
Under $6,000	69	14	14	24	6	3	27	39	46	52	28	47
Over $6,000	66	26	6	14	5	5	15	60	72	52	19	24
NON-SMSA												
10,000-49,999												
Under $6,000	77	21	3	19	19	6	28	28	75	64	27	35
Over $6,000	64	27	10	14	11	5	11	59	57	59	16	21
2,500-9,999												
Under $6,000	64	9	21	34	6	3	19	38	64	26	24	30
Over $6,000	60	25	13	18	2	3	22	55	64	48	21	32
Small Area												
Under $6,000	69	15	15	8	8	8	39	39	100	50	15	31
Over $6,000	61	39	0	8	0	6	22	64	78	55	17	25
Open Country												
Under $6,000	60	19	19	36	7	7	13	38	55	44	27	52
Over $6,000	62	35	2	20	8	3	19	50	61	48	27	33

WORK (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	GETTING AHEAD BY:			JOB CHARACTERISTICS: MOST IMPORTANT					WORK IF RICH	JOB SATIS.	UNEMPLOYED IN LAST 10 YEARS FOR ONE MONTH	EVER RECEIVE GOVERNMENT AID?
	HARD WORK	HARD WORK & LUCK	LUCK	HIGH INCOME	NO DANGER OF BEING FIRED	SHORT HOURS	ADVANCEMENT	FEELING OF ACCOMP.	YES	VERY SATIS.	YES	YES
CLASS												
Lower Class												
Under $6,000	60	25	10	33	13	3	10	41	60	47	40	58
Over $6,000	50	22	17	24	6	18	12	41	54	47	44	33
Working Class												
Under $6,000	66	20	12	17	9	4	27	43	59	38	34	46
Over $6,000	62	29	8	19	9	6	17	49	55	43	30	35
Middle Class												
Under $6,000	62	23	14	22	10	5	17	46	77	42	32	38
Over $6,000	61	31	7	13	5	4	17	61	72	55	19	24
Upper Class												
Under $6,000	46	31	23	39	0	8	15	39	50	56	39	46
Over $6,000	66	28	3	27	8	0	23	42	78	71	21	14
ETHNICITY												
Africa,W.Indies (Black)												
Under $6,000	67	23	10	50	3	11	13	24	64	17	44	62
Over $6,000	50	40	10	38	9	4	28	21	54	30	30	28
Hispanic												
Under $6,000	71	8	17	29	21	4	21	25	60	37	42	50
Over $6,000	74	16	10	20	13	0	13	53	55	36	34	50
WASP												
Under $6,000	63	20	15	10	10	13	23	45	62	54	25	55
Over $6,000	65	27	7	15	4	8	12	62	68	55	24	28
Other European Old Wave												
Under $6,000	64	25	10	15	11	2	22	51	56	47	29	33
Over $6,000	67	26	6	14	8	3	17	58	63	56	23	28
Other European New Wave												
Under $6,000	48	42	7	13	16	0	13	58	64	44	55	39
Over $6,000	53	38	8	15	9	7	16	52	66	45	23	27
Other & No Information												
Under $6,000	63	18	16	23	7	3	25	42	69	40	31	46
Over $6,000	56	32	9	18	6	6	19	52	63	44	25	28

Close to one-half of all persons in poor families say they had at one time received some form of government aid; and in the higher income level, between one-fourth and one-third. The poor who are black, grade-school educated, from the West, between the ages of 30-69 years, reporting no religion, skilled workers, operatives and laborers, from medium-sized cities, of the lower class and from black African, Hispanic and WASP backgrounds more frequently reported having received some governmental aid.

Decades of literature on attitudes towards work have not been able to sustain any very clear-cut observation on job satisfaction or attitudes toward certain occupations. Attitudes shift based on the congruence of numerous variables and not enough is known, despite all the literature, about how to measure attitudes and how to do so in a way which will lead to understanding of behavior. Many years of literature on the subject of job satisfaction and other job attitudes have been summarized by one analyst into a few conclusions which follow:*

1. Job satisfaction in its various forms shows a negative relation to absences, turnover and accidents. Cause and effect relations have yet to be clearly established.

2. There is no clear relation of any sort between satisfaction and actual job performance.

3. A general concept of satisfaction as either a motivator or end state of need fulfillment has not been adequately developed; furthermore, the components of satisfaction need to be more clearly delineated.

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*Robert Athanasiou, "Job Attitudes and Occupation Performance: A Review of Some Important Literature" in Robinson, Athanasiou and Head, Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics, (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, ISR, University of Michigan, 1969), pp. 95-96.

4. Personality factors and organizational variables may affect the distribution and type of attitudes available for study.

5. Methodological variations with regard to survey versus empirical studies, validity of the criteria and measurement devices, etc., makes comparison of studies extremely difficult.

This is important to keep in mind with a view to the newest rush of articles, books and discussions on the dehumanization of work and the "blue-collar blues." Thus at the height of the discussion, between 1969 and 1973, one study comparing national surveys on working conditions and workers' attitudes taken in these two years concluded that

> ...during the 3-year period...significant change was the exception, not the rule. It may be, of course, that all the supposed changes in workers' needs and attitudes occurred before 1969. The 1969 and 1973 surveys may have been conducted not at the height of a period of social change and unrest, but at the tail end of that period when matters had begun to settle down. This possibility, however, is difficult to substantiate empirically.*

The alienation from work has been seen today to be primarily the reaction of blue-collar workers to repetitive production-line jobs. One study, however, cautions very strongly about making assumptions about manual workers' attitudes:**

> Psychiatrists, sensitized by recent publications describing "blue collar blues" among assembly-line industrial workers, may attribute their complaints of emotional distress to the stress of assembly-line environment.

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*Robert P. Quinn et. al., "Evaluating Working Conditions in America," Monthly Labor Review, November 1973, Vol. 96, No. 11, p. 40.

**Iradj Siassi et. al., "Loneliness and Dissatisfaction in a Blue Collar Population," Archives of General Psychiatry, February 1974, Vol. 30, pp. 261-265.

> A field survey of automobile workers engaged in production-line tasks reveals no more evidence of unrelatedness, loneliness, boredom, life-dissatisfaction, work dissatisfaction, or depression than among their spouses.
>
> Where these phenomena occur, they are usually part of a broader pattern of emotional illness characteristic of diagnosed patients drawn from the same population. Mental health professionals should be cautious about stereotypes lest they impair their clinical judgment.

In the study of working conditions mentioned earlier, no change in overall job satisfaction could be found between 1969 and 1973, the two years polled. According to the report, no consistent change was apparent in the categories of sex, age, race, education, employment status (self-employed versus wage and salary), and collar color. There was a significant decline in the satisfaction of workers in the $5,000 to $7,000 income level and among operatives, while a slight improvement showed itself in the job satisfaction of service workers. In this study, those who were most dissatisfied with their jobs were workers under 30 years of age, blacks, those with incomes under $5,000 a year, operatives and nonfarm laborers. According to the report:*

> If no change in overall job satisfaction occurred over the last 3 years, the question arises as to whether the widely publicized decline in job satisfaction over the last decade has ceased. A more relevant question, however, is whether there ever was any such trend in the first place.
>
> To document this trend requires resurrecting a series of surveys that (a) used roughly equivalent measures of overall job satisfaction and (b) obtained data from national probability samples of workers. Fifteen such surveys are available, dating back to 1958. Eight

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*Quinn et. al., pp. 39-40.

> of these were Gallup polls; seven were conducted by either the National Opinion Research Center or the Survey Research Centers of the Universities of California or Michigan. All these surveys shared a single-question measure of overall job satisfaction that made their data roughly comparable. The seven non-Gallup surveys indicated that job satisfaction increased between 1962 and 1964 but has remained unchanged up to the present. A change in job satisfaction over the last few years that appears in the Gallup data is inconsistent with these data. Gallup's "work satisfaction" question was, however, asked of all people interviewed (housewives, students, retired people, the unemployed, and so on), not only those who worked for pay. When the Gallup data are reanalyzed, the closer the reanalyses come to refining the Gallup sample to include only those who work for pay, the smaller the "decline" in job satisfaction over the last several years.

And further:

> Moreover, most of the major experiments and reforms undertaken during these 3 years seem to have had little aggregate impact on the work force at large. While the women's movement may have helped make women more conscious of sex discrimination, wage inequities between men and women remain unchanged. Experiments with working hours, job enlargement, and job enrichment have been frequent, and certainly well publicized; the data indicate that they have made no appreciable impact on national statistics.
>
> Knowledge that the sky is not really falling should not breed complacency. More sobering is the question of why the sky is not any higher than it used to be.

In 1973 the Gallup organization polled wage earners nationwide as to reasons for their job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The results are shown below. When the percentages of response to job satisfaction are correlated with other satisfactions, a strong difference in attitude is found between those persons who are satisfied with their jobs and those who are not. This cleavage is greatest in the economic spheres and in the nebulous areas of "quality of life" and the "future." Those who are dissatisfied are mainly so because of poor wages; persons who feel satisfied say they are, primarily because they enjoy their work.

JOB SATISFACTION - REASONS SATISFIED*

WAGE EARNERS, NATIONWIDE
1973

1.	ENJOY MY WORK	39%
2.	GOOD PAY	17
3.	HELPS SOCIETY	15
4.	LIKE PEOPLE WORK WITH	11
5.	INTERESTING WORK	8
6.	GOOD WORKING CONDITIONS	7
7.	CHALLENGING JOB	5

JOB DISSATISFACTION - REASONS DISSATISFIED*

WAGE EARNERS, NATIONWIDE
1973

1.	POOR WAGES	34%
2.	BORING JOB	20
3.	NOT DOING WHAT I WANT TO	17
4.	HAVE TO WORK TOO HARD	10
5.	BEING HELD BACK	9
6.	HOURS TOO LONG	8
7.	NOT MANY BENEFITS	5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOB SATISFACTION AND PRODUCTIVITY*

	PERCENT SAYING COULD ACCOMPLISH 30% OR MORE PER DAY
THOSE "VERY SATISFIED" WITH JOB	22%
THOSE "VERY DISSATISFIED" WITH JOB	38%

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[*] *Gallup Opinion Index*, April 1973.

JOB SATISFACTION RELATED TO OTHER SATISFACTIONS*

1973

	THOSE SATISFIED WITH JOB	THOSE DISSATISFIED WITH JOB	POINT DIFFERENCE
SATISFACTION WITH INCOME...........	68%	34%	34%
SATISFIED WITH QUALITY OF LIFE..	79	48	31
SATISFIED WITH HOUSING..........	77	51	26
SATISFIED WITH STANDARD OF LIVING...........	81	55	26
SATISFIED WITH FUTURE FACING YOU AND YOUR FAMILY..	61	36	25
SATISFIED WITH EDUCATION CHILDREN ARE RECEIVING....	62	45	17
SATISFIED WITH WAY NATION IS BEING GOVERNED.........	39	22	17

Most of the major changes in job attitudes between the 1969 and 1973 surveys, noted in the study comparing them, were in the "labor standards problem areas," in particular in the six areas of hours, transportation to and from work, fringe benefits, family income, problems with unions and sex discrimination. Health and safety hazards, transportation to and from work, fringe benefits, working conditions and bad hours were most often reported. Of those who reported income to be too low, a very high percentage considered this problem to be "sizable" or "great."**

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*Based on 1971 surveys from the Gallup Opinion Index, April 1973.

**Quinn et. al., pp. 33 and 35.

The work of Robert P. Quinn and two of his associates at the Institute of Social Research in Michigan, Graham L. Staines and Margaret R. McCullough has been summarized in a recent article:*

> ...three ISR researchers have found that, despite the numerous tales of blue-collar blues and white-collar woes which have cried out from the pages of the most respectable periodicals in the country during the past 15 years, the average American worker has not spent this time cursing his lot. Even groups often thought to be seething with discontent--the young, blacks, women--have felt an almost unchanging degree of satisfaction with the jobs they held during this 15-year span. Nor has dissatisfaction grown among any of these groups over the last decade.

Financial Situation

Obviously, the financial situation is one area in which there will be strong differences of feeling between persons in the under $6,000-income levels; and this is clearly seen in the national response. However, that 62% of the poor and near-poor consider themselves pretty well satisfied or more or less satisfied with their present financial situation is surprising. This is, of course, fewer than the 81% of the non-poor reporting satisfaction. Moreover, in answer to the third question--how does your family income compare with that of American families in general?--an astonishing 46 percent of the poor and near-poor consider their incomes to be average or above average. There is a strong cleavage by race, with more blacks feeling their incomes to be below average; yet income has a greater impact on response than race. The cleavage by

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[*] "Job Satisfaction Has Been High Over 15-year Period, Survey Findings Demonstrate," Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1974, p. 7.

education is slight in the below-average response; but, in the over $6,000 level, higher education is directly related to whether the respondent feels he has a higher income than others. Region has an unexpectedly minor effect on response.

The phenomenon of the poor "making do" on their incomes is not in the least new: Two interesting polls taken by the Roper organization, one in 1937 and the other thirty years later, in 1967, presented graphic examples of differences in perceived need:*

Roper for Fortune

> How much money per week do you think the average family of four needs to live on around here, including necessities and a few inexpensive pleasures?

1938: January

	TOTAL NATIONAL	NEGROES	ECONOMIC STATUS PROSPEROUS	ECONOMIC STATUS POOR
Over $40 per week	22.3%	10.3%	30.2%	13.2%
$25-$40	49.0	25.0	45.5	53.9
Under $25	21.6	59.2	14.9	25.6
Don't know	7.1	5.5	9.4	7.3

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*Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Negro Finances," Public Opinion Quarterly, 33 (Summer 1969), pp. 273-276.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

"We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are pretty well satisfied with your present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied at all?"
(Q. 43A - 1974)

"During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, getting worse, or has it stayed the same?"
(Q. 43B - 1974)

"Compared with American families in general, would you say your family income is--far below average, below average, average, above average, or far above average?" (Q. 44 - 1974)

FINANCIAL SITUATION
(PERCENT)

	PETTY WELL SATISFIED	MORE OR LESS SATISFIED	DURING LAST FEW YEARS:			INCOME COMPARISON WITH ALL AMERICAN FAMILIES, SELF-REPORTED		
			GETTING BETTER	GETTING WORSE	STAYED SAME	FAR BELOW AND BELOW AVERAGE	AVERAGE	ABOVE AND FAR ABOVE AVERAGE
NATIONAL								
Under $6,000	26	36	25	32	44	55	42	4
Over $6,000	32	49	45	18	37	15	59	27
RACE								
White								
Under $6,000	28	36	25	31	45	50	46	4
Over $6,000	33	49	45	18	36	14	58	27
Black								
Under $6,000	17	35	26	34	40	75	23	2
Over $6,000	23	58	44	14	42	22	69	9
EDUCATION								
Grade School or Less								
Under $6,000	27	35	24	31	45	57	40	2
Over $6,000	37	47	36	19	46	15	73	11
High School								
Under $6,000	21	40	27	33	41	51	45	3
Over $6,000	28	51	46	19	36	16	61	23
College								
Under $6,000	32	28	24	32	44	52	36	12
Over $6,000	40	47	57	15	27	12	36	53
REGION								
East								
Under $6,000	20	35	24	30	46	56	39	6
Over $6,000	33	47	47	20	33	12	56	32
Midwest								
Under $6,000	26	39	16	34	51	51	43	5
Over $6,000	31	51	37	21	43	14	65	20
South								
Under $6,000	26	33	26	34	41	55	42	2
Over $6,000	35	47	50	15	35	18	56	27
West								
Under $6,000	30	39	35	26	39	59	40	1
Over $6,000	30	53	52	15	34	15	57	27
AGE								
Under 30								
Under $6,000	20	38	30	28	42	58	40	2
Over $6,000	21	57	52	16	31	18	59	23
30-49								
Under $6,000	11	33	15	50	35	62	35	3
Over $6,000	31	51	47	19	34	14	57	29
50-69								
Under $6,000	25	35	21	35	44	64	32	3
Over $6,000	44	41	38	19	44	12	64	23
70 and Older								
Under $6,000	48	37	32	17	52	32	62	5
Over $6,000	48	41	28	15	57	20	50	30

FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	PRETTY WELL SATISFIED	MORE OR LESS SATISFIED	DURING LAST FEW YEARS: GETTING BETTER	GETTING WORSE	STAYED SAME	INCOME COMPARISON WITH ALL AMERICAN FAMILIES, SELF-REPORTED: FAR BELOW AND BELOW AVERAGE	AVERAGE	ABOVE AND FAR ABOVE AVERAGE
OCCUPATION								
Professional								
Under $6,000	42	23	27	27	46	62	31	8
Over $6,000	34	49	52	19	29	11	42	48
Managerial, Sales								
Under $6,000	27	35	19	42	39	38	58	4
Over $6,000	40	47	56	11	32	6	48	45
Clerical								
Under $6,000	28	28	36	39	26	59	31	5
Over $6,000	29	53	43	19	39	14	66	19
Skilled Workers								
Under $6,000	29	44	24	27	49	38	59	3
Over $6,000	29	50	41	21	38	20	56	24
Operatives, Laborers								
Under $6,000	25	37	26	28	46	60	37	3
Over $6,000	32	44	34	21	46	21	69	10
Farm, Farm Workers								
Under $6,000	21	29	29	29	43	57	43	0
Over $6,000	58	25	75	8	17	17	75	8
Service Workers								
Under $6,000	23	43	23	27	49	59	38	3
Over $6,000	25	58	43	21	36	17	73	11
SIZE PLACE (NORC)								
SMSA								
250,000 and Over								
Under $6,000	20	39	21	35	44	62	35	2
Over $6,000	22	56	44	17	39	18	56	26
50,000-250,000								
Under $6,000	31	29	26	29	46	54	46	3
Over $6,000	24	57	44	22	35	15	65	20
Suburbs								
Under $6,000	27	34	30	37	33	52	43	5
Over $6,000	33	48	43	19	39	10	62	28
Unincorporated Area								
Under $6,000	31	42	36	28	36	47	47	6
Over $6,000	40	45	56	15	29	14	51	35
NON-SMSA								
10,000-49,000								
Under $6,000	27	41	29	15	56	35	65	0
Over $6,000	24	56	41	18	41	19	64	18
2,500-9,999								
Under $6,000	27	36	15	24	61	53	34	9
Over $6,000	38	49	39	13	48	10	63	27
Small Area								
Under $6,000	31	54	23	15	62	69	31	0
Over $6,000	39	50	53	17	31	28	50	22
Open Country								
Under $6,000	29	25	23	46	31	58	40	2
Over $6,000	44	36	44	21	35	19	63	18

FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd)

	PRETTY WELL SATISFIED	MORE OR LESS SATISFIED	DURING LAST FEW YEARS:			INCOME COMPARISON WITH ALL AMERICAN FAMILIES, SELF-REPORTED		
			GETTING BETTER	GETTING WORSE	STAYED SAME	FAR BELOW AND BELOW AVERAGE	AVERAGE	ABOVE AND FAR ABOVE AVERAGE
CLASS								
Lower Class								
Under $6,000	30	20	23	38	40	83	18	0
Over $6,000	22	50	33	17	50	56	44	0
Working Class								
Under $6,000	20	42	26	32	43	55	41	2
Over $6,000	23	51	39	21	40	20	69	10
Middle Class								
Under $6,000	32	36	23	28	49	45	53	3
Over $6,000	40	49	50	16	34	9	52	39
Upper Class								
Under $6,000	39	15	31	47	23	54	15	31
Over $6,000	55	24	62	7	31	11	29	61
ETHNICITY								
Africa, W. Indies (Black)								
Under $6,000	15	31	18	33	49	77	21	3
Over $6,000	27	52	40	19	42	25	63	13
Hispanic								
Under $6,000	4	46	38	21	42	50	46	0
Over $6,000	19	66	44	25	31	31	63	6
WASP								
Under $6,000	28	30	38	23	40	35	58	8
Over $6,000	36	48	49	12	39	13	48	38
Other European Old Wave								
Under $6,000	30	42	16	35	50	56	42	2
Over $6,000	35	49	45	19	36	12	64	25
Other European New Wave								
Under $6,000	23	26	19	42	39	45	45	6
Over $6,000	32	45	38	25	37	12	61	27
Other & No Information								
Under $6,000	32	35	29	31	39	57	40	3
Over $6,000	30	51	49	16	35	18	58	24

Roper for Saturday Evening Post*

1967: December

	RACE		ECONOMIC STATUS	
	WHITES	NEGROES	UPPER	LOWER
$200 and over/week	12%	7%	35%	5%
$150-199	24	14	23	14
$120-149	24	15	10	15
$101-119	12	6	5	12
$90-100	13	20	7	21
$60-89	8	24	7	18
Under $60	3	9	--	12
Don't know	6	5	14	5
Median	$127.12	$98.25	$172.06	$99.54

However, another Roper question in 1967 revealed a similar distribution of response to the need perception in the difficulty of getting along on one's income.

Roper for Saturday Evening Post

When it comes to living within your income, do you find it quite easy, not too difficult, fairly difficult, or almost impossible to live within your income?

1967: December

	RACE		ECONOMIC STATUS	
	WHITES	NEGROES	$15,000 OR OVER	UNDER $5,000
Quite easy	28%	18%	40%	14%
Not too difficult	35	26	36	28
Fairly difficult	29	37	19	39
Almost impossible	7	18	5	18
Don't know, no answer	1	1	--	2

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[*] Columns in this table are not rounded out to 100 percent and may total from 99 to 102 percent.

For the poor, their financial situation during the last few years has been predominantly "staying the same," or next, "getting worse," The largest number of non-poor, on the contrary, feel most strongly that their financial situation has been improving. Majorities of both income levels, however, say that their situation is either remaining the same or worsening.

Apparently the two questions, one about present satisfaction and the other relating to changes in the financial situation, trigger different reactions in the respondents. This can be seen by some of the large discrepancies in the percentages of persons feeling "pretty well satisfied" and that their situation has been improving. Generally, persons in the over $6,000 income level are more optimistic about the improvement of their financial situation than are satisfied with it at present.

Age presents an interesting response to speculate on: this is the greater satisfaction of the elderly, compared to the young, with their incomes. A cross-cultural study of five nations, including the U.S., done by researchers at the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan supported this finding. The researchers found that "older workers are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs and with their pay."* No doubt older workers have taken the practical approach, but youth feel there is more to come.

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*"'Inevitable Hierarchical Gap' Emerges in Study of Capitalist and Socialist Organizations," ISR Newsletter, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Vol. II, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), p. 5.

Social Issues-I[*]

On a national level, poor and non-poor opinion on the first set of social issues is closely similar. Both income levels show a strong to overwhelming feeling that the courts are too lenient, that marijuana should not be legalized and that there should be a law requiring a gun permit. An overwhelming majority of both income groups also disapproves of wiretapping; majorities also favor the death penalty for murder. And the largest percentage of both income levels feels divorce should be made more difficult to obtain than it is now.

The cleavages by income nationally are small: a significantly greater number of poor support making divorce laws stricter, disapprove of wiretapping and oppose legalization of marijuana; and significantly fewer poor favor the death penalty. But, in general, income has considerably less of an impact on response to these issues than some of the other variables; in addition, the cleavage by income becomes greater when income is cross-tabulated with other variables.

The strongest differences to be noted are by race, education, age, and in some cases, ethnicity. Blacks, the college-educated and the young show themselves to be considerably more permissive than other groups within their categories. The largest gaps in opinion by education are between the high school and college levels; on most issues, cleavages by grade- and high-school education are small. There are relatively small differences in attitudes between the working and middle class.

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[*] When reading these tables, please keep in mind the sample sizes as described in the beginning of this section. A number of samples are too small to be relied upon.

The responses by all variables show overwhelmingly disapproval of wiretapping and the legalization of marijuana and the support of a law requiring a gun permit. There is also a generally very strong to overwhelming feeling that courts are not dealing with criminals harshly enough. The responses to these issues may be said to underscore the "conservative" feelings of the public regarding the "value system," which was noted earlier in this study in the discussion on the liberal-conservative dichotomy.

Social Issues-II

This set of issues, which includes questions on the role of women and fear of crime, shows a greater discrepancy in attitude by income nationally than the previous set. Persons in the under $6,000 income level give considerably less approval to the idea of women working, getting involved outside the home or running for President than do the more affluent. The questions of women staying in the home and going out to work evoke strong cleavages in response both by variable and income. There is almost a linear relationship to education level and to age. There are small differences by social class, with the middle class being slightly more "liberal" on these issues.

The fear of walking alone at night in their neighborhoods is experienced by more than one-half of the poor, almost 15% more than the non-poor. And a proportionately greater number of blacks than whites are afraid to go out in their neighborhoods at night. Most of the other strong differences among the variables, even the response by age, are income-

SOCIAL ISSUES I

"Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?" (Q. 66, 1974)

"In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?" (Q. 77, 1973)

"Everything considered, would you say that, in general, you approve or disapprove of wiretapping?" (Q. 74, 1974)

"Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?" (Q. 74, 1973)

"Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" (Q. 75, 1974)

'Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?" (Q. 76, 1974)

SOCIAL ISSUES I
(PERCENT)

	DIVORCE			COURTS DEAL WITH CRIMINALS			WIRE-TAPPING	MARIJUANA MADE LEGAL	DEATH PENALTY	GUN PERMIT
	EASIER	MORE DIFFICULT	STAY AS IS	TOO HARSH	NOT HARSH ENOUGH	ABOUT RIGHT	DISAPPROVE	SHOULD NOT	FAVOR	FAVOR
NATIONAL										
Under $6,000	32	46	15	6	72	14	83	83	59	76
Over $6,000	32	41	23	4	75	13	79	79	65	75
RACE										
White										
Under $6,000	27	49	17	4	73	14	81	81	64	75
Over $6,000	29	43	23	2	76	13	78	79	68	75
Black										
Under $6,000	52	32	9	11	69	13	89	86	35	80
Over $6,000	57	21	21	23	62	8	94	74	39	75
EDUCATION										
Grade School or Less										
Under $6,000	29	48	17	4	79	12	82	94	63	76
Over $6,000	30	46	21	6	78	11	85	87	68	72
High School										
Under $6,000	33	47	13	7	62	17	84	66	57	77
Over $6,000	31	41	25	3	76	13	78	79	66	76
College										
Under $6,000	58	25	17	17	39	17	88	33	32	76
Over $6,000	37	36	22	6	65	13	75	65	60	76
REGION										
East										
Under $6,000	46	35	13	5	72	7	87	82	57	93
Over $6,000	42	30	27	4	72	15	79	73	68	87
Midwest										
Under $6,000	29	46	19	6	72	19	88	79	55	80
Over $6,000	27	43	22	4	77	13	81	77	61	77
South										
Under $6,000	29	49	16	6	74	14	80	90	59	74
Over $6,000	30	46	19	6	76	11	80	88	66	68
West										
Under $6,000	33	48	12	6	69	10	80	73	64	63
Over $6,000	28	37	33	4	71	12	76	73	67	67
AGE										
Under 30										
Under $6,000	54	32	9	12	54	21	90	54	51	79
Over $6,000	45	34	18	7	64	16	80	62	60	78
30-49										
Under $6,000	32	42	18	6	81	6	80	93	55	74
Over $6,000	30	40	26	5	77	11	80	82	66	75
50-69										
Under $6,000	26	52	14	2	81	13	75	95	64	70
Over $6,000	22	49	24	1	79	13	76	87	69	72
70 and Older										
Under $6,000	15	57	22	4	73	13	87	87	65	82
Over $6,000	28	52	20	4	82	4	83	89	67	78

SOCIAL ISSUES I (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	DIVORCE			COURT DEAL WITH CRIMINALS*			WIRE-TAPPING	MARIJUANA* MADE LEGAL	DEATH PENALTY	GUN PERMIT
	EASIER	MORE DIFFICULT	STAY AS IS	TOO HARSH	NOT HARSH ENOUGH	ABOUT RIGHT	DISAPPROVE	SHOULD NOT	FAVOR	FAVOR
OCCUPATION										
Professional										
Under $6,000	32	52	16	25	45	15	89	60	39	77
Over $6,000	36	39	21	5	70	13	78	75	57	81
Managerial, Sales										
Under $6,000	23	58	12	0	84	6	85	91	77	73
Over $6,000	39	34	21	1	82	10	77	73	69	66
Clerical										
Under $6,000	35	35	23	2	63	16	76	76	55	78
Over $6,000	25	44	30	2	71	17	79	83	72	85
Skilled Workers										
Under $6,000	15	53	12	3	76	15	79	88	77	68
Over $6,000	39	39	16	5	80	8	75	78	76	63
Operatives, Laborers										
Under $6,000	35	48	16	9	78	9	80	87	63	80
Over $6,000	28	46	20	8	78	11	81	81	63	71
Farm, Farm Workers										
Under $6,000	14	64	14	0	75	19	71	88	71	71
Over $6,000	8	67	25	0	74	21	92	90	92	33
Service Workers										
Under $6,000	41	37	15	1	70	19	88	84	53	81
Over $6,000	31	42	23	6	71	14	86	82	56	80
SIZE PLACE (NORC)										
SMSA										
250,000 and Over										
Under $6,000	45	36	11				88		46	75
Over $6,000	43	30	22				85		53	80
50,000-250,000										
Under $6,000	26	49	23				86		74	91
Over $6,000	30	49	19				86		53	70
Suburbs										
Under $6,000	30	52	11				80		75	75
Over $6,000	31	41	24		-N.A.-		78	-N.A.-	72	84
Unincorporated Area										
Under $6,000	23	46	23				81		61	72
Over $6,000	34	37	27				76		73	77
NON-SMSA										
10,000-49,999										
Under $6,000	24	56	18				89		56	85
Over $6,000	25	41	27				81		56	76
2,500-9,999										
Under $6,000	30	49	15				85		42	76
Over $6,000	38	37	24				72		73	71
Small Area										
Under $6,000	46	46	8				85		70	62
Over $6,000	17	64	11				89		69	61
Open Country										
Under $6,000	25	50	17				71		69	69
Over $6,000	18	55	24				72		68	57

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*The breakdown by size of place in 1973 is different from 1974 and therefore has not been shown for questions asked in 1973.

SOCIAL ISSUES I (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	DIVORCE			COURT DEAL WITH CRIMINALS			WIRE-TAPPING	MARIJUANA MADE LEGAL	DEATH PENALTY	GUN PERMIT
	EASIER	MORE DIFFICULT	STAY AS IS	TOO HARSH	NOT HARSH ENOUGH	ABOUT RIGHT	DISAPPROVE	SHOULD NOT	FAVOR	FAVOR
CLASS										
Lower Class										
Under $6,000	30	53	10	7	81	12	75	81	58	73
Over $6,000	39	33	28	13	56	19	95	88	78	61
Working Class										
Under $6,000	35	41	16	6	69	16	82	83	59	75
Over $6,000	31	42	24	5	77	10	82	80	64	72
Middle Class										
Under $6,000	27	53	15	5	74	9	87	81	62	84
Over $6,000	32	41	23	3	74	14	76	77	66	78
Upper Class										
Under $6,000	46	31	23	0	77	18	92	94	39	62
Over $6,000	38	45	17	15	65	10	83	70	62	83
ETHNICITY										
Africa, W.Indies (Black)										
Under $6,000	49	31	13	24	48	20	95	80	33	79
Over $6,000	65	23	10	26	58	11	89	82	38	71
Hispanic										
Under $6,000	33	46	17	5	90	0	67	84	71	79
Over $6,000	31	41	22	9	70	13	91	83	41	72
WASP										
Under $6,000	13	60	23	0	84	8	80	81	70	73
Over $6,000	35	39	22	1	77	14	72	83	77	67
Other European Old Wave										
Under $6,000	23	54	13	5	68	19	84	80	64	77
Over $6,000	27	44	25	3	75	14	78	79	65	74
Other European New Wave										
Under $6,000	39	36	15	3	65	18	91	71	71	87
Over $6,000	31	41	22	4	79	13	83	75	72	88
Other & No Information										
Under $6,000	40	41	10	5	76	10	81	88	53	72
Over $6,000	31	41	24	5	74	11	77	77	61	76
POLITICAL PARTY										
Republican										
Under $6,000	28	54	14	7	75	11	78	92	67	72
Over $6,000	27	47	24	1	77	14	73	85	79	75
Democrat										
Under $6,000	29	45	13	[illegible]	74	13	83	88	58	80
Over $6,000	32	42	22	[illegible]	74	11	85	79	61	77
Independent										
Under $6,000	43	35	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	89	67	58	78
Over $6,000	33	35	24	[illegible]	75	13	76	74	62	75
Other, Refused										
Under $6,000	27	54	8	17	47	20	77	73	46	62
Over $6,000	42	29	21	3	65	10	75	79	71	71
RELIGION										
Protestant										
Under $6,000	29	49	17	5	77	12	82	88	57	72
Over $6,000	29	43	25	6	76	13	78	82	67	70
Catholic										
Under $6,000	33	45	16	5	65	19	83	78	76	89
Over $6,000	26	45	22	4	77	13	82	81	68	84
None										
Under $6,000	53	28	6	9	46	18	88	46	34	72
Over $6,000	66	15	14	9	53	14	78	42	46	71

SOCIAL ISSUES II

"Have you ever taken part in:" (Q. 73, 1973)

A. Picketing for a labor strike
B. A civil rights demonstration
C. An anti-war demonstration
D. A pro-war demonstration
E. A school related demonstration

"Do you agree or disagree with this statement?--Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men." (Q. 58, 1974)

"Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" (Q. 59, 1974)

"If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?" (Q. 60, 1974)

"As you know, many older people share a home with their grown children. Do you think this is generally a good idea or a bad idea?" (Q. 63, 1973)

"Is there any area right around here--that is, within a mile--where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" (Q. 82, 1974)

SOCIAL ISSUES II
(PERCENT)

	DEMONSTRATIONS: EVER TAKEN PART IN: YES					WOMEN SHOULD STAY IN HOME	WOMEN WORKING	VOTE FOR WOMAN FOR PRESIDENT	AGED LIVE CHILDREN'S HOME		FEAR OF CRIME NEIGHBORHOOD
	PICKET	CIVIL RIGHTS	ANTI-WAR	PRO-WAR	SCHOOL	AGREE	APPROVE	YES	GOOD IDEA	BAD IDEA	YES
NATIONAL											
Under $6,000	8	4	5	1	6	47	56	71	34	56	54
Over $6,000	9	4	5	0	6	28	73	82	30	59	40
RACE											
White											
Under $6,000	9	4	6	1	5	46	56	72	33	57	51
Over $6,000	9	3	5	0	5	27	74	82	29	61	39
Black											
Under $6,000	6	6	1	1	6	33	56	67	36	53	67
Over $6,000	19	21	9	0	9	32	65	84	39	42	55
EDUCATION											
Grade School or Less											
Under $6,000	9	1	0	0	1	61	46	65	37	54	54
Over $6,000	13	4	2	0	1	49	56	74	33	55	41
High School											
Under $6,000	8	9	8	2	14	30	69	80	29	61	50
Over $6,000	10	3	4	0	4	23	76	84	28	62	42
College											
Under $6,000	6	17	44	0	17	16	83	80	33	56	76
Over $6,000	5	11	12	1	15	12	87	87	31	57	35
REGION											
East											
Under $6,000	17	8	8	2	10	35	70	72	42	48	61
Over $6,000	15	8	10	0	8	30	77	83	32	55	42
Midwest											
Under $6,000	12	5	3	1	3	54	55	73	27	61	49
Over $6,000	12	5	5	0	5	27	71	83	30	60	36
South											
Under $6,000	4	3	3	1	4	53	51	64	38	54	51
Over $6,000	5	2	2	0	3	33	71	80	28	61	44
West											
Under $6,000	6	3	9	0	9	37	56	83	31	62	61
Over $6,000	7	4	4	0	3	18	74	82	31	60	41
AGE											
Under 30											
Under $6,000	2	11	16	1	20	22	83	92	46	47	51
Over $6,000	5	7	14	1	13	20	84	89	39	50	42
30-49											
Under $6,000	6	3	0	0	0	46	62	72	44	47	49
Over $6,000	10	5	3	0	4	26	75	84	30	60	38
50-69											
Under $6,000	13	1	1	0	0	55	45	62	26	65	55
Over $6,000	15	3	1	0	1	34	62	74	22	65	43
70 and Older											
Under $6,000	13	3	1	3	1	67	33	61	24	62	61
Over $6,000	4	4	4	0	0	52	51	71	22	63	41

SOCIAL ISSUES II (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	DEMONSTRATIONS: EVER TAKEN PART IN: YES*					WOMEN SHOULD STAY IN HOME	WOMEN WORKING	VOTE FOR WOMEN FOR PRESIDENT	AGED LIVE CHILDREN'S HOME*		FEAR OF CRIME NEIGHBORHOOD
	PICKET	CIVIL RIGHTS	ANTI-WAR	PRO-WAR	SCHOOL	AGREE	APPROVE	YES	GOOD IDEA	BAD IDEA	YES
OCCUPATION											
Professional											
Under $6,000	5	15	30	0	15	27	69	85	20	60	65
Over $6,000	6	10	9	1	12	12	82	84	26	64	40
Managerial, Sales											
Under $6,000	3	3	0	0	0	62	42	62	34	53	58
Over $6,000	4	4	3	1	6	21	82	89	23	63	28
Clerical											
Under $6,000	7	7	14	0	12	20	72	75	28	67	65
Over $6,000	4	3	6	0	7	21	79	84	24	64	58
Skilled Workers											
Under $6,000	21	3	3	0	3	53	44	68	27	55	24
Over $6,000	23	3	3	0	2	34	64	85	36	53	16
Operatives, Laborers											
Under $6,000	17	4	3	3	3	51	56	70	36	54	51
Over $6,000	22	4	4	0	2	41	58	78	40	53	40
Farm, Farm Workers											
Under $6,000	0	0	0	0	0	71	43	57	44	44	43
Over $6,000	0	0	0	0	0	42	83	58	0	16	8
Service Workers											
Under $6,000	4	3	0	0	1	55	56	70	33	61	60
Over $6,000	10	4	3	1	4	38	67	77	6	26	45
SIZE PLACE (NORC)			-N.A.-						-N.A.-		
SMSA											
250,000 and Over											
Under $6,000						37	70	81			67
Over $6,000						19	77	84			57
50,000-250,000											
Under $6,000						51	66	68			71
Over $6,000						33	70	84			44
Suburbs											
Under $6,000						55	48	61			50
Over $6,000						29	74	82			43
Unincorporated Area											
Under $6,000						39	56	78			53
Over $6,000						25	82	87			38
NON-SMSA											
10,000-49,999											
Under $6,000						50	41	71			47
Over $6,000						27	58	79			37
2,500-9,999											
Under $6,000						46	52	76			39
Over $6,000						31	58	79			27
Small Area											
Under $6,000						54	62	62			62
Over $6,000						25	69	83			17
Open Country											
Under $6,000						63	40	56			33
Over $6,000						40	70	72			26

*The breakdown by size of place in 1973 is different from 1974 and therefore has not been shown for questions asked in 1973.

SOCIAL ISSUES II (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	DEMONSTRATIONS: EVER TAKEN PART IN YES:					WOMEN SHOULD STAY IN HOME	WOMEN WORKING	VOTE FOR WOMEN FOR PRESIDENT	AGED LIVE CHILDREN'S HOME		FEAR OF CRIME NEIGHBORHOOD
	PICKET	CIVIL RIGHTS	ANTI-WAR	PRO-WAR	SCHOOL	AGREE	APPROVE	YES	GOOD IDEA	BAD IDEA	YES
CLASS											
Lower Class											
Under $6,000	10	5	2	2	7	50	63	70	29	56	58
Over $6,000	0	6	13	0	6	33	82	78	50	44	50
Working Class											
Under $6,000	9	4	4	1	4	47	53	73	38	56	50
Over $6,000	12	3	5	0	4	32	68	81	34	55	41
Middle Class											
Under $6,000	8	5	8	1	8	46	59	69	29	59	59
Over $6,000	9	6	5	1	7	24	77	84	26	62	39
Upper Class											
Under $6,000	0	0	0	0	6	54	46	75	41	41	54
Over $6,000	0	10	15	0	5	24	76	72	35	55	45
ETHNICITY											
Africa, W. Indies (Black)											
Under $6,000	12	8	4	0	12	49	55	69	48	44	66
Over $6,000	16	21	11	0	11	31	63	81	37	42	47
Hispanic											
Under $6,000	5	0	5	0	11	29	58	83	53	47	42
Over $6,000	4	4	9	0	4	34	58	72	52	44	47
WASP											
Under $6,000	14	8	8	0	8	42	60	65	30	60	48
Over $6,000	3	3	3	1	3	24	79	83	22	64	36
Other European Old Wave											
Under $6,000	8	4	6	0	3	52	53	72	25	65	53
Over $6,000	12	2	5	1	5	28	73	80	29	68	35
Other European New Wave											
Under $6,000	18	6	12	3	9	45	58	83	27	68	65
Over $6,000	9	3	5	0	7	27	71	86	32	58	48
Other & No Information											
Under $6,000	5	3	1	1	5	50	57	67	4	16	53
Over $6,000	12	7	6	0	6	28	74	83	31	56	47
POLITICAL PARTY											
Republican											
Under $6,000	7	1	1	0	4	60	51	64	35	57	57
Over $6,000	5	1	1	0	4	31	73	77	23	61	41
Democrat											
Under $6,000	10	3	4	1	4	49	54	74	36	54	50
Over $6,000	14	6	6	0	5	29	70	81	34	56	41
Independent											
Under $6,000	8	9	9	2	9	32	65	75	30	61	57
Over $6,000	9	4	6	0	7	23	76	87	30	62	39
Other, Refused											
Under $6,000	0	17	17	0	17	50	54	73	40	53	62
Over $6,000	15	12	15	0	9	33	71	75	40	54	42
RELIGION											
Protestant											
Under $6,000	7	2	2	0	4	52	53	68	34	57	54
Over $6,000	10	4	3	1	4	32	72	78	28	62	38
Catholic											
Under $6,000	12	5	5	1	5	41	57	73	29	59	52
Over $6,000	11	2	3	0	4	25	73	86	35	54	50
None											
Under $6,000	14	23	32	0	23	25	72	88	41	50	53
Over $6,000	6	19	29	0	14	12	86	90	32	46	31

related. The simple fact appears to be that the poor feel more fearful in their neighborhoods than the affluent do in theirs, regardless of age, social or educational status.

As can be seen, only a small minority of persons have ever taken part in any demonstrations. There is no difference in percentages by income on a national basis; observable differences can be seen among the variables, especially by issues that relate to one special group interest or another: about one-fifth of the more affluent blacks say they have taken part in labor or civil rights-related demonstrations (many fewer poorer blacks have done so); the college-educated have taken part in more types of demonstrations, but fewer pickets than the less-educated; other differences can be noted by region, age, occupation and ethnicity. Again, only minor differences can be noted by self-reported class. Because the percentages are so low in general, differences by income among the variables are often too small to be significant; but as can be seen, lower-income persons have no priority on participation in demonstrations.

The response to the question of the aged living in their children's home was generally homogeneous by income and variable. The majority of persons felt that this was a bad idea; the aged themselves were much more inclined to object to this arrangement than younger persons. Other studies, in particular the work of Ethel Shamas, have also revealed this to be so.

Sexual Morality--I and II

On questions of sexual morality, the poor and near-poor show themselves to be significantly less permissive than the more affluent; this cleavage carries through all the variables. Large differences of opinion can be noted by education and age: the college-educated and the young are much more permissive than other groups toward sexual relations outside of marriage, abortion, sex education in the schools and the availability of birth control information. The poor seem considerably more worried than the non-poor about dissemination of birth control information to teenagers and sex education in the schools, and are more clearly opposed to premarital sex under any circumstances.

The gap between black and white reactions on the same income level to these questions is slight; the differences are seen here once again to be based primarily on income, with the poor of both races showing greater objection to sexual permissiveness. On the same income level, there are generally slight differences between the middle- and working-class response; the weight of opinion of the lower class is also similar to the other two classes.

Besides the areas of anomie and finances, sexual morality creates the most consistently strong cleavages in attitudes between the poor and the affluent, with the poor revealing considerably stricter moral feelings. Perhaps in the lower-income persons are found the greatest tensions between "liberalism" toward economic issues and "conservatism" in the value system.*

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*An analogous tension was observed in the work of Free and Cantril, op. cit., in which they analyzed the conflicting tendencies among the American public toward ideological conservatism and operational liberalism. According to the results of their survey, taken in 1964:

> As compared with a national figure of 23 percent, the proportion of those exhibiting this schizoid combination of operational liberalism with ideological conservatism was very much higher than average among those with only a grade school education (30 percent) and the very poor (28 percent), as well as among people living in the South, and particularly in the Southern states that went for Goldwater in 1964 (41 percent). Conversely, the least schizoid groups were the college-educated (14 percent), the well-to-do (17 percent), the professional and business people (13 percent), people living in large cities (18 percent), and, above all, Jews (12 percent) and Negroes (12 percent), who showed throughout our study greater consistency in their views than any other groups. (P. 37.)

SEXUAL MORALITY I

"In some places in the United States, it is not legal to supply birth control information. How do you feel about this--do you think birth control information should be available to anyone who wants it, or or not?" (Q. 64A, 1974)

"Do you think birth control information should be available to teenagers who want it, or not?" (Q. 64B, 1974)

"Would you be for or against sex education in the public schools?" (Q. 65, 1974)

"Now a different question. Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if..." (Q. 67, 1974)

A. If there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?
B. If she is married and does not want any more children?
C. If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?
D. If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?
E. If she became pregnant as a result of rape?
F. If she is not married and does not want to marry the man?

"There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man or woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?" (Q. 68, 1974)

"There has been a lot of talk about how morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner--is it always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?" (Q. 69, 1974)

"What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?" (Q. 70, 1974)

SEXUAL MORALITY I
(PERCENT)

	BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION			LEGAL ABORTION								
	US SHOULD BE AVAIL.	TO TEEN-AGERS SHOULD BE AVAIL.	SEX EDUC SCHOOLS FOR	DEFECT IN BABY YES	MARRIED NOT WANT YES	HEALTH ENDAN-GERED YES	CANNOT AFFORD CHILD YES	RAPE YES	NOT MARRIED YES	PRE-MARITAL SEX ALWAYS WRONG	EXTRA-MARITAL SEX ALWAYS WRONG	HOMO-SEXUAL SEX ALWAYS WRONG
NATIONAL												
Under $6,000	85	63	65	77	36	87	42	76	41	40	79	75
Over $6,000	95	84	85	85	48	92	56	86	52	28	71	64
RACE												
White												
Under $6,000	86	63	64	80	37	88	44	79	43	40	80	75
Over $6,000	95	84	85	86	49	92	57	87	53	29	72	64
Black												
Under $6,000	82	66	69	63	32	80	35	62	31	40	71	77
Over $6,000	92	87	85	78	41	92	45	79	34	22	51	64
EDUCATION												
Grade School or Less												
Under $6,000	79	52	55	73	30	82	37	69	35	48	83	85
Over $6,000	92	77	73	80	40	91	49	81	44	39	80	76
High School												
Under $6,000	95	74	80	81	39	92	48	84	46	30	76	66
Over $6,000	95	86	87	85	47	92	55	86	49	25	70	65
College												
Under $6,000	96	84	88	88	72	100	64	96	60	16	52	36
Over $6,000	96	90	96	92	62	93	66	93	66	22	60	47
REGION												
East												
Under $6,000	93	78	82	87	52	93	56	91	61	19	57	56
Over $6,000	95	86	89	88	55	91	63	88	58	18	60	56
Midwest												
Under $6,000	85	64	64	76	36	83	46	77	44	37	84	75
Over $6,000	94	81	87	82	40	93	48	87	43	28	76	70
South												
Under $6,000	81	54	60	71	27	86	31	66	26	53	83	84
Over $6,000	95	84	80	83	45	92	52	83	47	39	74	70
West												
Under $6,000	89	70	64	81	41	87	49	81	49	34	80	74
Over $6,000	95	90	85	89	59	93	66	88	63	26	70	53
AGE												
Under 30												
Under $6,000	94	[illegible]	36	78	51	94	57	84	49	12	62	52
Over $6,000	98	94	90	88	50	95	59	89	54	10	59	54
30-49												
Under $6,000	91	73	80	79	44	86	38	74	42	33	71	74
Over $6,000	94	87	88	85	46	93	53	84	49	28	71	64
50-69												
Under $6,000	85	57	54	78	28	85	36	70	35	48	85	84
Over $6,000	92	77	79	85	49	90	58	87	51	43	79	75
70 and Older												
Under $6,000	72	41	46	73	24	81	39	78	38	66	95	90
Over $6,000	89	52	63	65	50	85	52	85	48	51	87	80

SEXUAL MORALITY I (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION			LEGAL ABORTION						PRE-MARITAL SEX	EXTRA-MARITAL SEX	HOMO-SEXUAL SEX
	US SHOULD BE AVAIL.	TO TEEN-AGERS SHOULD BE AVAIL.	SEX EDUC. SCHOOLS FOR	DEFECT IN BABY YES	MARRIED NOT WANT YES	HEALTH ENDAN-GERED YES	CANNOT AFFORD CHILD YES	RAPE YES	NOT MARRIED YES	ALWAYS WRONG	ALWAYS WRONG	ALWAYS WRONG
RELIGION												
Protestant												
Under $6,000	84	60	58	76	35	84	40	75	38	48	85	82
Over $6,000	95	84	83	85	48	94	56	87	51	32	74	69
Catholic												
Under $6,000	87	64	77	73	31	88	40	77	39	27	80	73
Over $6,000	92	83	86	79	38	86	46	80	42	26	73	65
None												
Under $6,000	87	84	88	84	59	97	63	78	54	9	38	34
Over $6,000	97	95	95	96	76	98	75	95	75	3	36	29
OCCUPATION												
Professional												
Under $6,000	89	76	77	77	39	92	42	81	35	23	64	50
Over $6,000	95	86	93	89	58	93	62	90	61	25	61	43
Managerial, Sales												
Under $6,000	92	62	58	81	31	89	39	65	35	58	92	85
Over $6,000	94	91	87	92	57	95	68	91	66	25	64	57
Clerical												
Under $6,000	98	78	82	88	35	93	53	92	53	28	72	48
Over $6,000	98	87	90	84	48	90	57	88	52	29	74	66
Skilled Workers												
Under $6,000	74	53	62	79	24	85	35	79	27	27	82	91
Over $6,000	94	80	80	82	43	90	47	77	45	24	69	74
Operatives, Laborers												
Under $6,000	83	60	62	79	43	85	46	73	44	41	80	88
Over $6,000	94	77	78	77	40	90	45	83	39	37	74	75
Farm, Farm Workers												
Under $6,000	64	43	36	57	21	79	29	57	29	64	93	93
Over $6,000	83	75	83	92	42	100	58	83	42	25	83	92
Service Workers												
Under $6,000	86	63	67	73	37	85	40	74	38	43	78	75
Over $6,000	91	83	79	84	4[illegible]	94	58	84	43	28	77	75
SIZE PLACE (NORC)												
SMSA												
250,000 and Over												
Under $6,000	87	71	73	72	37	90	42	76	37	31	60	57
Over $6,000	93	84	88	[illegible]	[illegible]	89	51	83	54	23	53	47
50,000-250,000												
Under $6,000	97	80	80	86	37	89	46	83	46	27	82	74
Over $6,000	94	82	86	80	40	88	48	81	45	32	74	75
Suburbs												
Under $6,000	91	63	75	75	48	82	56	84	52	43	89	77
Over $6,000	95	85	90	83	55	94	66	90	58	26	73	61
Unincorporated Area												
Under $6,000	89	69	75	83	42	92	53	81	42	28	77	81
Over $6,000	98	88	88	89	52	94	61	90	57	27	72	68
NON-SMSA												
10,000-49,999												
Under $6,000	82	50	56	62	15	74	27	71	32	47	88	79
Over $6,000	91	87	86	89	48	94	59	81	44	26	73	73
2,500,9,999												
Under $6,000	85	58	64	91	39	94	42	82	49	58	88	85
Over $6,000	98	85	87	85	47	91	54	87	52	22	69	60
Small Area												
Under $6,000	85	69	54	32	46	92	31	77	54	54	69	92
Over $6,000	100	92	83	86	31	94	56	86	56	28	78	83
Open Country												
Under $6,000	69	40	33	73	29	81	35	58	29	52	94	92
Over $6,000	92	77	71	84	34	93	39	82	33	46	87	74

SEXUAL MORALITY I (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION			LEGAL ABORTION						PRE-MARITAL SEX	EXTRA-MARITAL SEX	HOMO-SEXUAL SEX
	US SHOULD BE AVAIL.	TO TEEN-AGERS SHOULD BE AVAIL.	SEX. EDUC. SCHOOLS FOR	DEFECT IN BABY YES	MARRIED NOT WANT YES	HEALTH ENDAN-GERED YES	CANNOT AFFORD CHILD YES	RAPE YES	NOT MARRIED YES	ALWAYS WRONG	ALWAYS WRONG	ALWAYS WRONG
CLASS												
Lower Class												
Under $6,000	80	68	60	73	35	76	43	68	38	43	68	63
Over $6,000	100	100	83	78	61	89	72	89	67	22	72	61
Working Class												
Under $6,000	88	67	67	75	35	89	40	77	41	37	80	77
Over $6,000	93	82	82	84	43	91	52	84	45	29	73	68
Middle Class												
Under $6,000	85	58	64	81	36	87	44	78	38	43	81	75
Over $6,000	96	86	89	85	52	93	58	88	56	27	68	60
Upper Class												
Under $6,000	77	54	62	69	54	77	62	69	69	46	69	77
Over $6,000	90	86	76	97	66	97	72	93	69	39	72	62
ETHNICITY												
Africa,W.Indies (Black)												
Under $6,000	80	63	67	59	26	72	26	56	21	41	64	77
Over $6,000	96	94	81	83	44	96	42	73	33	17	40	58
Hispanic												
Under $6,000	96	63	79	67	17	92	42	71	38	38	83	83
Over $6,000	94	78	84	75	34	88	31	69	38	28	75	69
WASP												
Under $6,000	88	63	68	85	38	90	50	83	55	51	82	73
Over $6,000	95	87	88	90	56	95	62	90	61	27	74	64
Other European Old Wave												
Under $6,000	88	62	63	79	38	86	47	79	44	38	84	76
Over $6,000	95	83	87	83	47	92	55	88	52	28	72	65
Other European New Wave												
Under $6,000	90	68	77	87	48	90	52	87	52	36	74	74
Over $6,000	94	84	86	90	50	91	63	87	53	24	70	56
Other & No Info.												
Under $6,000	81	64	61	78	39	90	39	76	37	39	78	73
Over $6,000	94	83	80	83	46	90	54	86	48	35	71	67

SEXUAL MORALITY II

"The next questions are about pornography--books, magazines, and photographs that show or describe sex activities. On this card are some opinions about the effects of looking at or reading such sexual materials. As I read each one, please tell me if you think sexual materials do or do not have that effect." (Q. 58, 1973)

A. Sexual materials provide information about sex
B. Sexual materials lead to breakdown of morals
C. Sexual materials lead people to commit rape
D. Sexual materials provide an outlet for bottled-up impulses

"Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about pornography laws? Read first three categories only." (Q. 59, 1973)

There should be laws against the distribution of pornography whatever the age.

There should be laws against the distribution of pornography to persons under 18.

There should be no laws forbidding the distribution of pornography.

SEXUAL MORALITY II
(PERCENT)

	PORNOGRAPHY EFFECT OF SEXUAL MATERIALS				PORNOGRAPHY LAWS		
	PROVIDE INFORMATION ABOUT SEX YES	LEAD TO BREAKDOWN OF MORALS YES	LEAD PEOPLE TO COMMIT RAPE YES	PROVIDE OUTLET YES	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO ANY AGE	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO THOSE UNDER 18	NO LAWS FORBIDDING DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY
NATIONAL							
Under $6,000	61	59	62	55	43	42	12
Over $6,000	62	50	46	56	41	50	8
RACE							
White							
Under $6,000	57	60	64	56	46	40	12
Over $6,000	62	52	46	56	43	49	8
Black							
Under $6,000	72	55	57	49	31	49	15
Over $6,000	72	41	44	58	23	60	16
EDUCATION							
Grade School or Less							
Under $6,000	60	66	70	54	47	40	9
Over $6,000	63	61	55	59	45	47	7
High School							
Under $6,000	62	50	48	55	42	42	15
Over $6,000	62	49	46	53	41	50	9
College							
Under $6,000	61	33	50	67	11	56	33
Over $6,000	64	42	30	61	34	54	10
REGION							
East							
Under $6,000	58	58	67	67	45	35	18
Over $6,000	62	45	38	58	37	52	10
Midwest							
Under $6,000	59	58	57	50	39	47	14
Over $6,000	62	55	51	57	46	47	8
South							
Under $6,000	66	62	65	52	47	40	7
Over $6,000	63	51	47	56	42	50	7
West							
Under $6,000	56	55	61	56	41	43	16
Over $6,000	63	50	44	51	36	52	10
AGE							
Under 30							
Under $6,000	71	37	46	61	19	58	22
Over $6,000	68	39	33	56	20	68	12
30-49							
Under $6,000	72	51	58	44	32	61	6
Over $6,000	60	50	46	57	40	50	8
50-69							
Under $6,000	53	72	75	59	58	31	8
Over $6,000	62	59	55	54	57	36	6
70 and Older							
Under $6,000	48	70	68	51	60	22	13
Over $6,000	52	70	59	56	78	19	0

SEXUAL MORALITY II (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	PORNOGRAPHY EFFECT OF SEXUAL MATERIALS				PORNOGRAPHY LAWS		
	INFORMATION ABOUT SEX YES	LEAD TO BREAKDOWN OF MORALS YES	LEAD PEOPLE TO COMMIT RAPE YES	PROVIDE OUTLET YES	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO ANY AGE	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO THOSE UNDER 18	NO LAWS FORBIDDING DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY
RELIGION							
Protestant							
Under $6,000	62	64	65	51	44	42	11
Over $6,000	61	54	49	54	44	49	6
Catholic							
Under $6,000	60	56	63	62	48	38	12
Over $6,000	64	52	46	59	41	52	7
None							
Under $6,000	55	23	46	55	32	41	27
Over $6,000	77	17	14	60	11	57	28
OCCUPATION							
Professional							
Under $6,000	60	40	42	45	30	45	25
Over $6,000	58	45	38	62	35	49	15
Managerial, Sales							
Under $6,000	55	74	65	65	75	22	3
Over $6,000	66	45	41	49	43	49	6
Clerical							
Under $6,000	49	58	54	58	44	35	21
Over $6,000	64	51	45	55	43	54	3
Skilled Workers							
Unde. $6,000	67	55	76	58	41	44	16
Over $6,000	62	53	49	52	42	45	11
Operatives, Laborers							
Under $6,000	59	57	62	52	37	47	12
Over $6,000	63	53	44	53	38	52	8
Farm, Farm Workers							
Under $6,000	63	69	63	56	56	38	6
Over $6,000	72	58	63	53	47	42	11
Service Workers							
Under $6,000	70	62	65	55	43	40	12
Over $6,000	55	56	62	64	43	48	8

SEXUAL MORALITY II (cont'd)
(PERCENT)

	PRONOGRAPHY EFFECT OF SEXUAL MATERIALS				PORNOGRAPHY LAWS		
	PROVIDE INFORMATION ABOUT SEX YES	LEAD TO BREAKDOWN OF MORALS YES	LEAD PEOPLE TO COMMIT RAPE YES	PROVIDE OUTLET YES	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO ANY AGE	AGAINST DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY TO THOSE UNDER 18	NO LAWS FORBIDDING DISTRI. OF PORNOGRAPHY
CLASS							
Lower Class							
Under $6,000	56	66	51	46	46	49	5
Over $6,000	69	31	38	56	36	25	38
Working Class							
Under $6,000	56	54	62	51	43	40	14
Over $6,000	66	53	51	57	42	50	7
Middle Class							
Under $6,000	69	67	66	62	43	42	14
Over $6,000	60	49	42	55	40	50	9
Upper Class							
Under $6,000	88	65	71	47	41	41	12
Over $6,000	55	35	40	50	35	50	16
ETHNICITY							
Africa,W.Indies (Black)							
Under $6,000	79	52	50	46	28	52	16
Over $6,000	68	40	47	61	27	62	8
Hispanic							
Under $6,000	79	58	68	74	32	58	5
Over $6,000	74	35	39	65	44	48	9
WASP							
Under $6,000	57	73	73	51	51	24	9
Over $6,000	59	56	47	53	44	46	9
Other European Old Wave							
Under $6,000	56	60	57	58	41	50	8
Over $6,000	59	54	49	59	45	47	8
Other European New Wave							
Under $6,000	35	53	62	59	49	36	15
Over $6,000	68	48	47	60	38	56	5
Other & No Information							
Under $6,000	67	57	66	50	46	36	14
Over $6,000	64	47	41	50	37	51	11

As I suggested earlier in the paper, this tension may be causing a confusion of social policy arising from a mingling of attitudes that do not fit the needs of the poor. The results of this study would also argue for the position that the attitudes, behavior and needs of the poor and near-poor on the whole are not discrete or specially lower-class, but are part of the same attitudes and aspirations that constitute the value system of the great majority of working and middle-class persons.

The Value System: The Trends in Social and Sexual Mores

One of the apparent phenomena of recent times that is of particular interest to social scientists and the media has been the assumed breakup and weakening of ties within families and the so-called new social and sexual orientation of Americans. How much of this is true is a question which has recently been considered more deeply by serious analysts. The evidence for this changing phenomena is not so overwhelming as has been assumed for the last decade.

The following pages will be a discussion of some of the key issues, many of which are coordinated with the NORC General Social Survey questions, that make up a body of American social and moral attitudes. Tables and charts showing the trend data on numerous of these issues are grouped together at the end of the discussion. This will place the social values, examined in the previous section, in a long-term context, making possible a deeper evaluation of their present-day importance.

It is clear from the statistics that the divorce rate has been steadily increasing since the early 1960's. For comparison's sake, a look at the trend of divorces since the early part of this century would be useful:

the rate of divorces per 1,000 population rose in the twenty-five year period from 1915 to 1940 from 1.0 to 2.0, with the biggest jump of .6 occurring between 1915 and 1920. There was a flurry of divorces following the end of World War II, after which the rate remained around 2.2 and 2.3 between 1955 and 1963. It climbed steadily from 2.3 to 2.9 in the five years between 1963 and 1968 and then had a rapid rise from 2.9 to 4.0 between 1968 and 1972. Thus, it took six years for the divorce rate to climb .6 in the 1960's and only four years for it to rise 1.1 in the early 1970's. Newly-enacted divorce laws were apparently having their impact. Divorces continued to increase in 1973 and 1974: the rate was 4.3 in 1973 and 4.5 in the first half of 1974, a jump of .5 in two years. By June 1974, the rate was 4.7 per 1,000 population.

Perhaps less noticed, at the same time, the rate of marriages climbed steadily. The marriage rate rose 2.4 (from 8.5 to 10.9) during 1962 to 1972, the same years in which the divorce rate increased 1.8. In the four years from 1968 to 1974, however, the number of marriages rose about one-half as fast as divorces. In 1973, the marriage rate reached the highest level since 1950 and then showed a decline to 1974.

The ratio of the number of divorces to marriages in 1971 was almost one divorce to every three marriages. This does not mean that one out of every three marriages is breaking up. Responses in the NORC General Social Survey of 1972-74 showed that for these years, approximately 17-19% of the sample was or had ever been divorced or legally separated.

The poll question in the NORC General Social Survey of 1974 on divorce, "Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?" showed nationally, 42% feeling it should be more difficult, 21%

stay as it is, and 32% easier. This is a change from two earlier Gallup polls, one of 1960, when about 55% felt it should be more difficult, and of 1968, when approximately 60% thought so. In addition, the percentage who thought it should be easier increased from about 10% in 1960 to close to 20% in 1968. A change in the 1970's is clearly indicated, but the weight of opinion still lies strongly on keeping stricter divorce laws.

The desire for a happy family life has not diminished in American society. Early reports of the results of two extensive ISR studies show that "marriage and family life are the most satisfying parts of most people's lives and being married is one of the most important determinants of being satisfied with life."* In another study, done in 1973, a national adult sample overwhelmingly considered a happy family life to be the most important facet of their lives.**

Question: Would you please tell me which of the choices listed on this card is most important to you? Which is second in importance? Which comes next? Which is least important to you?

	%
A happy family life	80
The opportunity to develop as an individual	12
A fulfilling career	4
Making a lot of money	3

Also, the NORC General Social Surveys of 1973 and 1974 revealed that about three-fourths of all respondents felt either a very great deal or a great deal satisfied with their family life. Compared to this, in 1974, almost three-fourths felt a very great deal or a great deal satisfied with their friendships, about 60% with their health, a little over one-half with their non-working activities and just under one-half with the city or place they live in. The national response to another question in the NORC General Social Survey of 1974 revealed that almost 70% reported that their marriage was happy (49%--very happy; 20%--pretty happy).

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*ISR Newsletter, Vol. II, No. 2 (Summer 1974), p. 3

**Institute of Life Insurance, June 1973. The national adult sample was of 2,007 persons.

A Gallup poll of February 1974 showed that twice as many people as in 1966 felt that being with the family at home was their favorite way of spending an evening (10% in 1974; 5% in 1966). Watching TV was by far, however, the favorite way of spending an evening for Americans in 1974 (46%).

In a Louis Harris survey done for Virginia Slims in 1971, 71% of women felt that "taking care of a home and raising children is more rewarding for a woman than having a job." A follow-up survey for Virginia Slims carried out by the Roper Organization in 1974 asked the question differently and found that the majority of women preferred a combination of family life and career to any other arrangement:

WHICH COMBINATION OF MARRIAGE, CHILDREN AND CAREER WOULD OFFER THE MOST SATISFYING AND INTERESTING LIFE ?

	% TOTAL WOMEN
Combining Marriage Career and Children	52
Marrying, having Children but not having Career	38
Having Career and Marrying but not having Children	4
Having Career but not Marrying or having Children	2
Marrying but not having Children or Career	1
Don't Know	3

The number of working women in the U.S. increased from 13,800,000 in 1940, to 17,800,000 in 1950, 22,500,000 in 1960 and 31,200,000 in 1970. In the three years 1969 to 1972 alone, the number rose 4 million to 32,900,000. Of the total number of women in the labor force in 1972, 63%

were married. Whether women are more likely to work because the husband's income is low or because of choice, age or education has not been established.

The ISR studies mentioned earlier showed that "married people without children are not less content with their lives than parents. In fact, early parenthood is one of the periods of greatest dissatisfaction and distress." In a 1973 poll, three out of four persons across the nation felt that "it is perfectly all right to be married and to choose not to have children" and over one-half agreed that young married couples should delay having children until they have had a few years alone together.*

The concept of the ideal number of children has varied considerably over the years. A series of Gallup polls shows the percentage changes from 1936 to 1973 of those considering four or more to be the ideal number. The drop in the last half decade was the sharpest registered since the question was asked.**

1936	34
1941	41
1945	49
1947	47
1953	41
1957	38
1960	45
1963	42
1966	35
1967	40
1971	23
1973	20

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*Institute of Life Insurance, June 1973.

**Gallup Opinion Index, No. 92, February 1973, p. 17.

Trend data on self-reported responses in Gallup polls reveals that in 1953 almost equal percentages--about one-third--felt two, three or four would be ideal; in 1957, the greatest number--one-third--chose three, and the next choice, of one-fourth of all respondents, was four. A Gallup poll of February 1973 showed a clear change in feeling: almost one-half, or double the percentage of the next choice, felt two to be ideal; almost one-fourth picked three children.*

Trend data does not support the radical changes in social and moral attitudes described as presently taking place by some social scientists. Gallup polls dealing with pornography and pre-marital sex do show a fairly substantial relaxation of objection to these things since 1969. For reasons which are not clear, objection to pornography and pre-marital sex relations appeared to increase in 1969 compared to earlier years. One assumption for this phenomena was that as Americans became exposed to more permissive sex, their objections to it intensified. However, the data show that four years later, during which time the trend to sexual permissiveness continued unabated, there was less objection to it. The data do not give reasons for the increased acceptance, but it is possible that prolonged exposure to them has caused these matters to become more acceptable. Another argument is that the campus disturbances in the late 1960s and early 1970s for radical change in sexual and moral attitudes caused a strong reaction in the public; since they have died down, the reaction has weakened.

Another conjecture as to a basis for acceptance may be found in the response to the question asked in the 1973 NORC General Social Survey about the effect of looking at or reading sexual materials. In giving their reactions to four opinions, almost two-thirds of respondents nationwide sanguinely felt that sexual materials provide information about sex and at least another one-half felt that sexual materials provide an outlet for bottled-up impulses. Thus, although Americans also found that pornography--books, movies, magazines and photographs that show or describe sex activities--leads to breakdown of morals and to rape, they agreed it was helpful in some circumstances. Concerning laws against the distribution of pornography, in the 1973 NORC survey, 42% of national respondents felt there should be a law against it no matter what the age and 47% thought there should be laws against its distribution to persons under 18. Only 9% felt there should be no laws forbidding its distribution.

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*Ibid, p. 16.

In the Gallup polls a sharp difference in attitude toward pornography and pre-marital sex can be noted between whites and blacks, the college and grade-school educated, persons of high and low income and farmers and the other occupations. Whites show greater objection to sexual materials and pre-marital sex than do blacks, and poor, grade-school educated persons show considerably more objection to these things than the well-to-do, college-educated person. Objection appears to be almost linear among the education and income categories, with objection intensifying from level to level from high to low income and from the college- to grade-school educated.

There was a national increase of from 7 to 12% in favor of legalization of abortion between the years 1968 and 1974. However, this swingover included the introduction of both Harris and Gallup of the term "U.S. Supreme Court" into the 1973 and 1974 questions, and this is bound to have a more favorable effect on response. Even with this addition, a Gallup poll in March 1974 showed under one-half (47%) favoring legalized abortion, and a Harris survey in March 1973 showed slightly more than one-half (52%) for it. A Gallup poll in November 1969 registered 40% favorable.

In the March 1974 Gallup poll, very large differences can be seen in attitudes toward abortion according to education, income and occupation, with the rich, college-educated, professional person overwhelmingly more in favor of legalized abortion than the poor, grade-school-educated person out of the labor force. There is no significant difference between white and black feelings.

In 1974 NORC General Social Survey question on abortion, included in this collection of tables, also shows considerable differences in national opinion toward reasons for obtaining a legal abortion. There seems to be a clear dichotomy in reactions to reasons pertaining to endangerment of health and life and pregnancy because of rape on one hand and social and personal needs and wishes on the other.

When the public was asked in 1973 about their approval and participation in various lifestyles, there was little objection to moving to the country or changing one's occupation, but clear disapproval of lifestyles dealing with sexual permissiveness or drugs. All Gallup and NORC polls from 1969 to 1973 showed an overwhelming 80% of the nation opposing the legalization of marijuana.

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about people's life styles. More and more, people are experimenting with different ways of living. Here are six examples of ways people are changing their life styles. For each one, can you tell me whether you strongly approve, moderately approve, moderately disapprove, or strongly disapprove?[*]

	STRONGLY APPROVE	MODERATELY APPROVE	MODERATELY DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	DON'T KNOW NO ANSWER
Moving to the country	45%	39	9	6	1
Changing occupation	27%	44	19	10	-
Leaving work force temporarily	20%	36	24	19	1
Joining new religion	15%	35	18	30	2
Living together out of wedlock	9%	19	16	56	-
Having out-of-wedlock child	4%	14	23	58	1
Joining commune	6%	14	19	60	1
Experimenting with Drugs	2%	6	9	83	-

How about you? How likely are you to do each of these things?

	VERY LIKELY	SOMEWHAT LIKELY	NOT VERY LIKELY	NOT AT ALL LIKELY	DON'T KNOW NO ANSWER
Moving to the country	26%	26	18	24	6
Changing occupation	17%	22	22	31	8
Leaving work force temporarily	11%	19	23	39	8
Joining new religion	4%	12	22	59	3
Living together out of wedlock	7%	8	12	64	9
Having out-of-wedlock child	3%	4	12	66	15
Joining commune	2%	5	16	74	3
Experimenting with Drugs	3%	4	9	80	4

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[*] Institute of Life Insurance, June 1973.

Briefly, religious values have also not changed as radically as has been conjectured by some social scientists. Church attendance as measured in Gallup polls yearly since 1955 shows a clear linear downward trend to 1973, but the drop has been gradual and not steep. In 1955, 49% of the public reported having attended church in the last seven days; in 1960, 47%; in 1965, 44%; in 1970, 42%; and in 1972, 40%. What is particularly interesting is that the only drop in attendance since 1964 occurred among Catholics: the number of Protestants who attended church remained the same from 1964 to 1973; furthermore, attendance in fundamental churches appeared to be on the rise, while the Episcopalians and Presbyterians dropped off somewhat.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS*

"Did you yourself happen to attend church or synagogue in the last seven days?"

YEAR	JEWS %	CATHOLIC %	PROTESTANT %
1964	17	71	38
1965	15	67	38
1966	22	68	38
1967	--	66	39
1968	--	65	38
1969	22	63	37
1970	19	60	38
1971	--	57	37
1972	--	56	37
1973	--	55	37
1974	16	55	37

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*The Gallup Opinion Index, No. 70, April 1971 and No. 114, December 1974.

There has been very little change in numbers of Americans believing in God since 1944:

BELIEF IN GOD*

"Do you, personally, believe in God?"

National Responses

YEAR	YES (%)
1944	96
1947	94
1954	96
1968	98
1974	97

Andrew M. Greeley, in a perceptive and definitive article,** sums up his observations on present-day American religious attitudes as follows:

> One of the reasons that it is difficult to study religious consistency is that, in the peculiar ideological climate of contemporary American intellectual life, he who studies it will be dismissed as conservative....
>
> Yet there is a massive continuity in American religious life....Large numbers of people go to church; large numbers affiliate with denominations. Levels of membership and attendance fluctuate in response to external social stimuli, but the churches are never deserted....
>
> I submit that the prime requisites for the study of American religion are a skepticism about the pervasiveness of change and doubt about the utility of virtually all existing models.

* * * * *

Following are tables and charts showing trend data on some of these issues. In looking through some of them, you may find, like Gallup, that "people are often years ahead of their legislative leaders."***

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*Gallup polls.

**_Social Research_, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1974, pp. 226-240.

***_Gallup Opinion Index_, November 1972.

FEAR OF CRIME

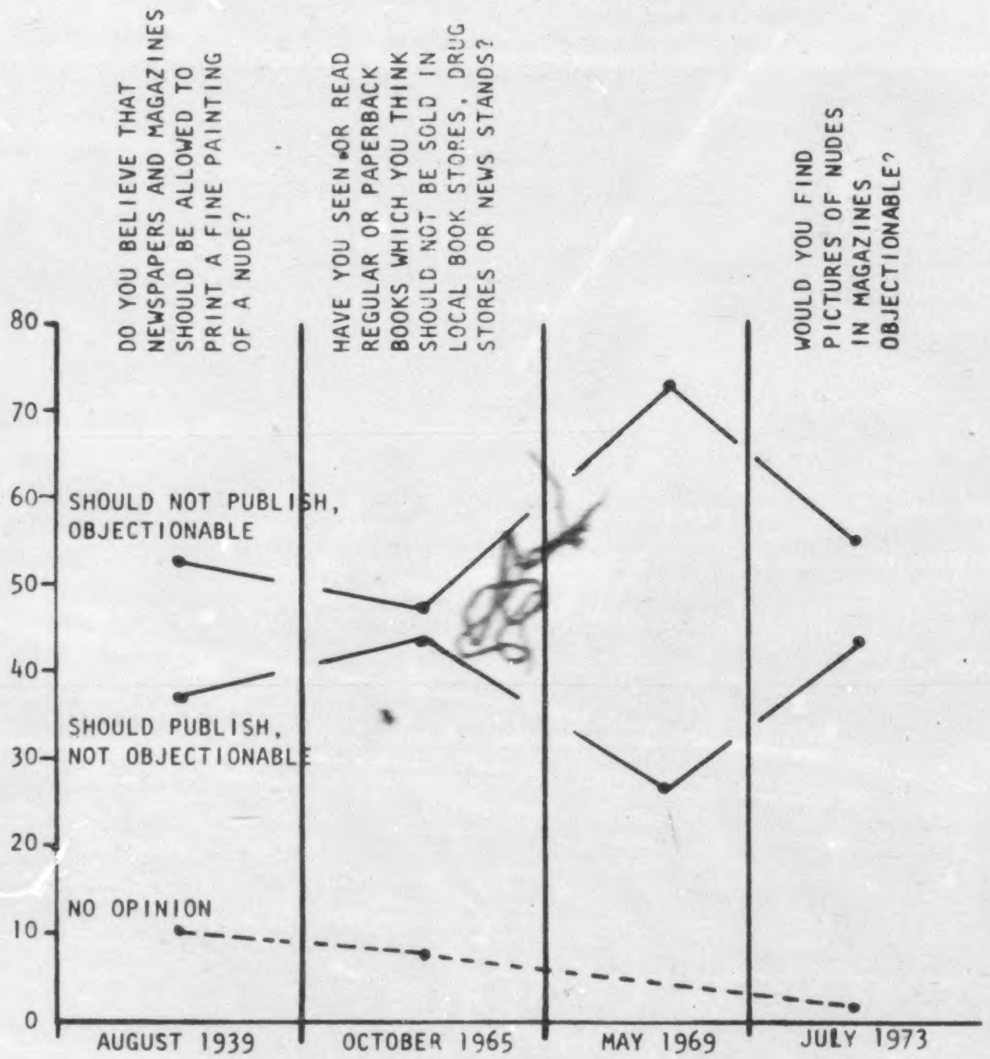
QUESTION: "Is there any area around here--that is, within a mile--where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?"

YES:	1965	1967	Mar. 1972	Dec. 1972	NORC* Spring 1973	NORC* Spring 1974
	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	34	31	41	42	41	45
SEX						
Male	17	16	20	22		
Female	49	44	58	60		
RACE						
White		29	39	42		
Non-white		x	49	48		
COMMUNITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	48	38	53	46		
500,000-999.999		40	43	51		
50,000-499,999	41	38	49	51		
2,500- 49.999	29	22	42	40		
Under 2,500-rural	21	21	24	28		
INCOME						
$15,000 & over			28	34		
10,000-14,999		30	38	39		
7,000- 9,999		29	36	43		
5,000- 6,999		28	46	46		
3,000- 4,999		36	46	46		
Under $3,000		33	58	55		

Source: Gallup polls.

*National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, Spring 1973 and 1974.

PUBLICATION OF SEXUAL MATERIAL
NATIONAL--PERCENT



Source: Gallup polls. Chart compiled by Frank E. Armbruster.

PORNOGRAPHY

QUESTION: Would you find pictures of nudes in magazines objectionable?

	July 1973 YES	Late May 1969 YES
	%	%
NATIONAL	55	73
RACE		
White	56	74
Non-White	50	-
EDUCATION		
College	40	59
High School	55	74
Grade	74	86
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	-	66
15,000 and over	43	-
7,000 and over	59	69
5,000-6,999	61	76
3,000-4,999	71	79
Under $3,000	69	80
OCCUPATION		
Prof. & Business	46	64
White Collar	53	64
Clerical & Sales	-	-
Manual Workers	51	76
Non-Labor Force	-	-
Farmers	79	89

Source: Gallup Opinion Index, July 1969 and August 1973.

PORNOGRAPHY

QUESTION: Would you find actors and actresses appearing in the nude in Broadway plays objectionable?

	July 1973 YES	July 1969 YES
	%	%
NATIONAL	65	81
RACE		
White	66	82
Non-white	56	-
EDUCATION		
College	52	70
High School	65	84
Grade	79	85
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	-	-
$15,000-$19,000	-	-
10,000 and over	56	79
7,000-9,000	70	-
7,000 and over		81
5,000-6,999	67	75
3,000-4,999	74	86
Under $3,000	71	84
OCCUPATION		
Prof. & Business	58	77
White Collar	63	-
Clerical & Sales	-	76
Manual Workers	61	82
Non-Labor Force	-	-
Farmers	84	91

Source: Gallup Opinion Index, July 1969 and August 1973.

PORNOGRAPHY

QUESTION: Would you find topless nightclub waitresses objectionable?

	July 1973 YES	Late May 1969 YES
	%	%
NATIONAL	59	76
RACE		
White	61	77
Non-white	49	-
EDUCATION		
College	48	67
High school	59	76
Grade	74	82
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	-	
15,000 and over	49	
10,000-$14,000	56	
10,000 and over		70
7,000-9,999		73
5,000-6,999	63	76
3,000-4,999	69	81
Under $3,000	72	80
OCCUPATION		
Prof. & Business	54	73
White Collar	59	69
Clerical & Sales	-	-
Manual Workers	55	76
Non-Labor Force	-	-
Farmers	79	82

Source: Gallup Opinion Index, July 1969 and August 1973.

PRE-MARITAL SEX RELATIONS

NATIONAL

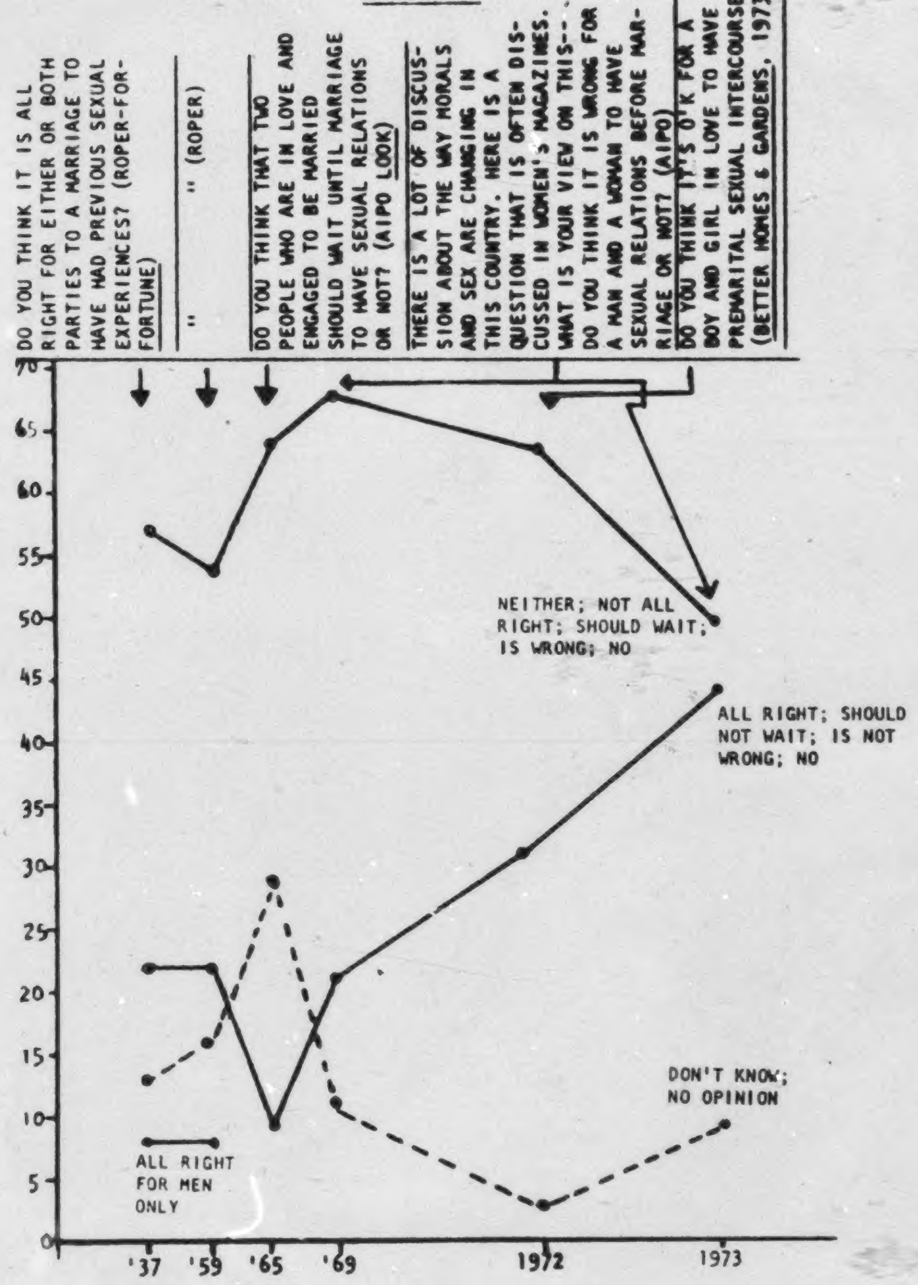


Chart compiled by Frank E. Armbruster.

PRE-MARITAL SEX

QUESTION: There is a lot of discussion about the way morals and sex are changing in this country. Here is a question that is often discussed in women's magazines: what is your view on this--do you think it is wrong for a man and woman to have sexual relations before marriage or not?

	July 1973 IS WRONG	August 1969 IS WRONG
	%	%
NATIONAL	48	68
RACE		
White	50	72
Non-white	32	41
EDUCATION		
College	41	56
High School	45	69
Grade	60	77
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	-	-
15,000 and over	43	50
10,000-14,999	47	64
7,000-9,999	47	71
5,000-6,999	45	68
3,000-4,999	54	72
Under $3,000	52	72
OCCUPATION		
Prof. & Business	43	58
White Collar	44	68
Clerical & Sales	-	-
Manual Workers	44	66
Non-Labor Force	-	-
Farmers	67	78

Source: Gallup Opinion Index, October 1969 and August 1973.

PRE-MARITAL SEX RELATIONS

QUESTION: If a man or woman have sexual relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?"*

NATIONAL RESPONSE	1972	1974
ALWAYS WRONG	35%	32%
ALMOST ALWAYS WRONG....	11	12
WRONG ONLY SOMETIMES...	23	23
NOT WRONG AT ALL.......	26	30
DON'T KNOW	4	3
NO ANSWER.............	1	0

---

*National Opinion Research Center, _General Social Surveys_, Spring 1972 and Spring, 1974.

ABORTION

QUESTION: Would you favor or oppose a law which would permit a woman to go to a doctor to end a pregnancy at any time during the first three months?

FAVOR	NOV 1969 *	DEC 1972 *	MAR 1973 **	MAR 1974 *
	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL..................	40	46	52	47
RACE				
WHITE.....................	40	--	--	47
NON-WHITE.................	45	--	--	45
EDUCATION				
COLLEGE...................	58	63	--	67
HIGH SCHOOL...............	37	44	--	44
GRADE SCHOOL..............	31	30	--	25
INCOME				
$20,000 & OVER............	--	--	--	60
$15,000 - 19,999..........	54	--	--	49
$10,000 - 14,999..........	44	--	--	44
$ 7,000 - 9,999...........	43	--	--	41
$ 5,000 - 6,999...........	34	--	--	42
$ 3,000 - 4,999...........	31	--	--	49
UNDER $3,000..............	33	--	--	27
OCCUPATION				
PROF. & BUS...............	52	--	--	59
CLERICAL & SALES	40	--	--	54
MANUAL WORKERS............	35	--	--	44
NON-LABOR FORCE...........	--	--	--	40
FARMERS...................	38	--	--	--

*Gallup polls. The question asked by Gallup in March 1974 was: "The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a woman may go to a doctor to end pregnancy at any time during the first three months of pregnancy. Do you favor or oppose this ruling?"

**The Harris Survey, release of April 19, 1973. The question asked by Louis Harris was: "The U.S. Supreme Court recently decided that state laws which make it illegal for a woman to have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy are unconstitutional, and that the decision on whether a woman should have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy should be left to a woman and her doctor to decide. In general, do you favor or oppose the U.S. Supreme Court decision making abortions up to three months of pregnancy legal?"

The results of two Harris surveys taken in 1972 compared to the one polled in 1973 are shown below (the question asked was the same as above):

LEGALIZING ABORTIONS UP TO THREE MONTHS OF PREGNANCY

	1973	AUG. '72	JUNE '72
	%	%	%
Favor	52	42	48
Oppose	41	46	43
Not sure	7	12	9

ABORTION

QUESTION: Do you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if:

NATIONAL

	YES			NO			DON'T KNOW		
	1972	1973	1974	1972	1973	1974	1972	1973	1974
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A. If there is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby?	74	82	83	20	15	14	5	2	3
B. If she is married and does not want any more children?	38	46	45	57	51	50	5	3	5
C. If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?	83	91	90	13	8	7	4	2	2
D. If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?	46	52	52	48	45	43	6	3	4
E. If she became pregnant as a result of rape?	74	81	83	20	16	13	6	3	4
F. If she is not married and does not want to marry the man?	41	47	48	53	49	48	6	3	4

Source: National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, Spring 1972, 1973 and 1974.

MARIJUANA

QUESTION: "Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?"*

	1969, 1972-73									NORC, SPRING 1973**		
	SHOULD			SHOULD NOT			NO OPINION			SHOULD	SHOULD NOT	NO OPINION
	%			%			%			%	%	%
NATIONAL	12	15	16	84	81	78	4	4	6	18	80	2
SEX												
MEN	14		18	81		76	5		6			
WOMEN	10		13	86		81	4		6			
RACE												
WHITE	12			84			4					
NON-WHITE	15			79			6					
EDUCATION												
COLLEGE	23			72			5					
HIGH SCHOOL	10			86			4					
GRADE SCHOOL	6			91			3					
OCCUPATION												
PROF. & BUS.	18			77			5					
WHITE COLLAR	22			76			2					
FARMERS	5			93			2					
MANUAL	10			85			5					
AGE												
18-29 YEARS			34			59			7			
21-29 YEARS	26			69			5					
30-49 YEARS	12		11	83		83	5		6			
50 & OVER	6		7	91		87	3		6			

QUESTION: "Have you, yourself, ever happened to try marijuana?"***

NATIONAL

	March 3-5, 1973		October, 1969	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
NATIONAL	11	89	4	96

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[*] Gallup Opinion Index No. 53, November 1969, p. 8; No. 93, March 1973, pp. 25, 26.

[**] National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, Spring 1973.

[***] Gallup Opinion Index, March 1973, p. 24.

AMNESTY

QUESTION: Do you think young men who have left the U.S. to avoid the draft should or should not be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment?*

SHOULD

	1972	1973	1974
	%	%	%
NATIONAL	36	29	34
RACE			
White	34	26	31
Non-white	49	49	50
EDUCATION			
College	34	34	36
High School	34	27	36
Grade School	40	30	28
INCOME			
$20,000 and over	-	-	31
15,000 and over	33	20	-
15,000-19,999	-	-	29
10,000-14,999	30	29	33
7,000-9,999	32	29	32
5,000-6,999	40	33	34
3,000-4,999	44	37	40
Under $3,000	43	36	44
OCCUPATION			
Prof. & Business	35	33	35
White Collar	34	-	-
Clerical & Sales	-	25	32
Manual Workers	37	27	34
Non-Labor Force	-	-	36
Farmers	30	13	-

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*Gallup Opinion Index, March 1973, August 1972 and May 1974.

TREATMENT OF DRAFT AVOIDERS*

1973

NATIONAL RESPONSE	PERCENT
Should be allowed to return without punishment--give them unconditional amnesty	29
Require them to serve a period of time in Military service	10
Require them to serve in either Military or non-military service	18
Make them pay a fine	18
Send them to jail	10
No opinion	12

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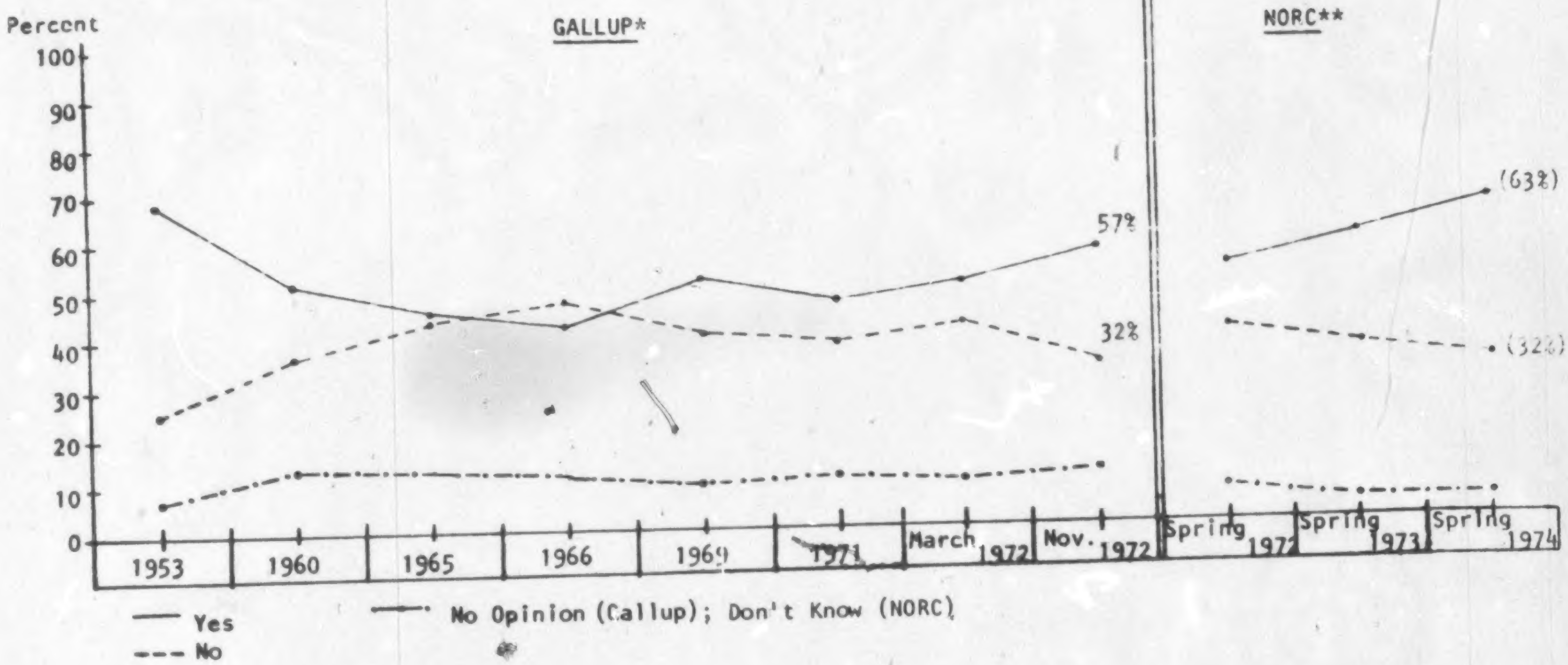
* Gallup Opinion Index, March 1973.

DEATH PENALTY FOR PERSONS CONVICTED OF MURDER
NATIONAL



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*Gallup polls.

**National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, Spring 1972, 1973 and 1974.

DEATH PENALTY

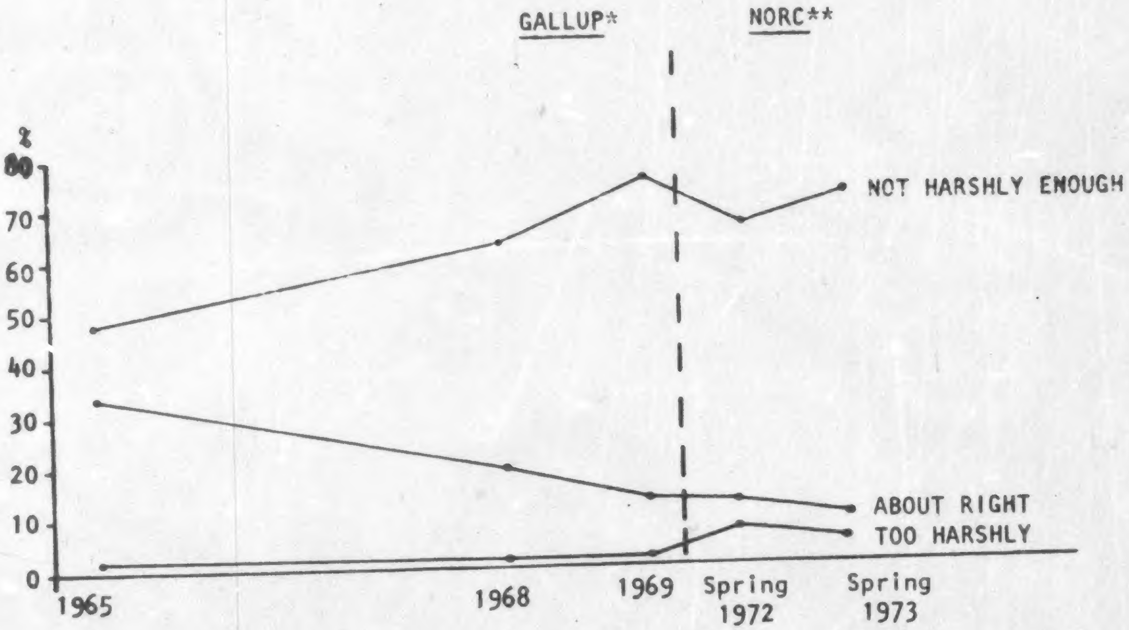
QUESTION: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?*

	NOV. 1972 YES	February 1969 YES
	%	%
NATIONAL	57	51
RACE		
White	60	54
Non-white	32	-
EDUCATION		
College	57	52
High School	60	52
Grade	49	48
INCOME		
$20,000 and over	-	-
15,000 and over	61	-
10,000-14,999	66	-
10,000 and over	-	55
7,000-9,999	59	55
5,000-6,999	55	49
3,000-4,999	48	46
Under $3,000	38	47
OCCUPATION		
Prof. & Business	55	48
White Collar	-	54
Clerical & Sales	66	-
Manual Workers	59	51
Non-Labor Force	-	-
Farmers	49	50

*Gallup Opinion Index, March 1969 and December 1972.

DO COURTS IN THIS AREA DEAL WITH CRIMINALS: TOO HARSHLY, NOT HARSHLY ENOUGH, ABOUT RIGHT?

NATIONAL



* Gallup Polls.

** National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, Spring, 1972 and 1973.

FIREARM REGISTRATION*

QUESTION: "WOULD YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE A LAW WHICH WOULD REQUIRE A PERSON TO OBTAIN A POLICE PERMIT BEFORE HE OR SHE COULD BUY A GUN?"

	LATE MAY 1972** FAVOR	SPRING 1973*** FAVOR	SPRING 1974*** FAVOR
NATIONAL................	71%	73%	75%
RACE....................			
WHITE.................	71		
NON-WHITE.............	72		
EDUCATION...............			
COLLEGE...............	74		
HIGH SCHOOL...........	71		
GRADE SCHOOL..........	67		
INCOME..................			
$ 5,000 + ...	--		
$10,000 - 14,999......	--		
$ 7,000 - 9,999......	--		
$ 5,000 - 6,999......	--		
$ 3,000 - 4,999......	--		
UNDER $3,000..........	--		
OCCUPATION..............			
PROF. & BUS...........	75		
WHITE COLLAR..........	71		
MANUAL WORKERS........	70		
NON-LABOR FORCE.......	--		
FARMERS...............	56		

*A Gallup poll taken in 1938 showed that 84% of Americans favored laws requiring the registration of pistols and revolvers. (Gallup Opinion Index, November 1972).

**Gallup Opinion Index, June 1972.

***National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey Spring 1973 and 1974.

Appendix A

NORC GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEYS, 1973-1974

Selected Characteristics of Respondents in the Under $6,000 and over $6,000 Samples (Percentages)*

Prepared and compiled by Esther Adam

COMPARISON OF INCOME LEVELS IN THE UNDER $6,000 SAMPLE

	Under $3,000	$3,000-4,999	$5,000-5,999
SEX**			
Male	---	---	---
Female	---	---	---
RACE			
White	70	86	82
Black	29	13	16
Other	0	1	2
	99	100	100
AGE			
18-30	26	26	27
30-49	18	16	29
50-69	29	36	30
70+	25	22	13
No answer	1	1	1
	99	101	100
EDUCATION			
Less than High School	70	56	54
High School (1-4 years)	24	36	41
College (Junior College, Bachelor's, Graduate)	5	8	4
No answer	1	1	1
	100	100	100
OCCUPATION***			
Professional, technical and kindred workers	6	8	10
Managers and Administrators (except farm), sales workers	7	11	11
Clerical and kindred workers	11	13	19
Craftsmen and kindred workers	8	11	17
Operatives, incl. transport and laborers (except farm)	29	28	27
Farm, farm managers, farm laborers, farm foremen	8	4	3
Service workers, incl. private household workers	32	25	14
	101	100	101
REGION OF RESIDENCE****			
Northeast	13	16	23
North Central	22	28	29
South	46	34	32
West	19	22	16
	100	100	100

COMPARISON OF THE UNDER $6,000 AND OVER $6,000 SAMPLES

	Under $6,000	Over $6,000
SEX**		
Male	41	50
Female	59	50
	100	101
RACE		
White	79	91
Black	20	9
Other	1	1
	100	101
AGE		
18-30	26	26
30-49	19	43
50-69	32	28
70+	22	4
No answer	1	0
	100	101
EDUCATION		
Less than High School	61	26
High School (1-4 years)	32	54
College, (Junior College, Bachelor's, Graduate)	6	19
No answer	1	0
	100	99
OCCUPATION***		
Professional, technical and kindred workers	8	17
Managers and Administrators (except farm), sales workers	9	16
Clerical and kindred workers	14	23
Craftsmen and kindred workers	11	13
Operatives, incl. transport and laborers (except farm)	28	18
Farm, farm managers, farm laborers, farm foremen	5	2
Service workers, incl. private household workers	25	11
	100	100
REGION OF RESIDENCE****		
Northeast	16	25
North Central	26	30
South	39	29
West	20	16
	101	100

SIZE OF COMMUNITY			
Rural: In an open country, on a farm, or in a small town under 2,500	26	29	30
In a small city or town under 50,000	26	22	22
In a medium size city, 50,000-250,000	9	10	13
In a suburb near a large city	8	11	13
In a large city (over 250,000)	31	28	22
	100	100	100

ETHNICITY[*****]			
African, West Indian	18	10	12
Oriental	0	1	0
Hispanic	12	8	7
Wasp	16	17	15
Other European, Old Wave	39	52	49
Other European, New Wave	15	12	17
	100	100	100

SOCIAL CLASS (SELF-REPORTED)			
Lower Class	15	9	8
Working Class	43	55	55
Middle Class	34	33	35
Upper Class	7	3	1
No answer	1	1	1
	100	101	100

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE			
Protestant	70	67	69
Catholic	19	25	23
Other	1	1	2
None	9	7	6
	99	100	100

POLITICAL PREFERENCE			
Republican	20	22	23
Democrat	48	48	42
Independent	23	25	28
Other, Refused	5	4	5
Does not vote due to religious belief	3	1	2
	99	100	100

SIZE OF COMMUNITY		
Rural: In an open country, on a farm, or in a small town under 2,500	28	22
In a small city or town under 50,000	23	24
In a medium size city, 50,000-250,000	10	15
In a suburb near a large city	10	16
In a large city (over 250,000)	28	23
	99	100

ETHNICITY[*****]		
African, West Indian	14	6
Oriental	0	1
Hispanic	9	4
Wasp	16	22
Other European, Old Wave	47	48
Other European, New Wave	14	19
	100	100

SOCIAL CLASS (SELF-REPORTED)		
Lower Class	11	2
Working Class	50	44
Middle Class	34	51
Upper Class	4	2
No answer	1	0
	100	99

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE		
Protestant	68	62
Catholic	22	28
Other	3	5
None	8	6
	101	101

POLITICAL PREFERENCE		
Republican	22	22
Democrat	48	40
Independent	25	34
Other, Refused	4	3
Does not vote due to religious belief	1	1
	100	100

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[*] The percentages represent the pooling of responses from the 1973 and 1974 samples, except for SIZE OF COMMUNITY, which represents the 1973 sample only.

[**] Not available at this time.

[***] The response of "don't know" and the "not applicables" were disregarded in computing the percentages.

[****] See table next page for the states which are included in each region.

[*****] Each category includes several countries as follows: AFRICAN: Africa, West Indies; ORIENTAL: China, Japan, Philippines; HISPANIC: Mexico, Puerto Rico, Spain; WASP: England and Wales, Scotland, Canada (English); OTHER EUROPEAN, Old Wave: Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland; OTHER EUROPEAN, New Wave: Canada (French), Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia.

WEST:

Washington
Oregon
California
Idaho
Nevada
Montana
Wyoming
Utah
Colorado
New Mexico
Arizona
Alaska
Hawaii

NORTH CENTRAL:

North Dakota
South Dakota
Nebraska
Kansas
Minnesota
Iowa
Wisconsin
Michigan
Missouri
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio

SOUTH:

Texas
Oklahoma
Arkansas
Louisiana
Mississippi
Alabama
Florida
Georgia
South Carolina
North Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
West Virginia
Maryland
Delaware
District of Columbia
Kentucky

NORTHEAST:

Pennsylvania
New York
New Jersey
Connecticut
Rhode Island
Vermont
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Maine

NORC QUESTIONS (1973 & 1974)

SEX: This was automatically coded by the NORC interviewer.

RACE: The NORC interviewer coded the race of each respondent without asking. If there was a question in the mind of the interviewer, he was to ask: "What race do you consider yourself?"

AGE: "In what year were you born?"

EDUCATION: "Did you ever get a high school diploma?"
"Do you have any college degrees?" If yes, "What degree?"

OCCUPATION: "What kind of work do you (did you normally) do? That is what (is/was) your job called?"

REGION OF RESIDENCE: This was automatically coded by the NORC interviewer.

SIZE OF COMMUNITY: This was coded automatically by the NORC interviewer.

ETHNICITY: "From what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come?" If more than one named, "which one of these countries do you feel closer to?"

SOCIAL CLASS: "If you were asked to use one of the four names for your social class which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class?"

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE: "What is your religious preference? Is is Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion or no religion?"

POLITICAL PREFERENCE: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?"

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS, 1973 AND 1974 (POOLED)*

Comparison of Income Levels Under $6,000

	Under $3,000 N=	$3,000 4,999 N=	$5,000 5,999 N=
Race	287	306	128
Age	287	306	128
Education	287	306	128
Occupation	225	272	101
Region of Residence	287	306	128
Size of Community	143	168	69
Ethnicity	173	211	84
Social Class	287	306	128
Religious Preference	281	301	126
Political Preference	286	306	128

Comparisons of the Under $6,000 and Over $6,000 Samples

	Under $6,000 N=	Over $6,000 N=
Race	721	2032
Age	721	2032
Education	721	2048
Occupation	611	1880
Region of Residence	721	2032
Size of Community	380	1026
Ethnicity	468	1494
Social Class	721	2032
Religious Preference	720	2029
Political Preference	712	2018

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*Except for Size of Community which is only 1973 data.

Appendix B

PUBLIC OPINION POLL DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION

During the first period of work on public opinion poll data analysis, together with Esther Adam, I organized a comprehensive collection of the published poll data and survey research in the U.S. connected with the problems of poverty; this formed the basis of the secondary data analysis done primarily in the first two sections of this study. This collection consists of three main types of material; 1) published poll data covering three and a half decades of poll questions on poverty issues; 2) books, articles, reports and studies; and 3) listings of data holdings and resources in data archives, codebooks and questionaires for special studies and bibliographies of publications for retrieval of data and information. The major part of this secondary data collection are the national and cross-tabulated samples of the bulk of the published poll data on poverty issues from 1935 to the present from Hazel Erskine, Polls Editor of the Public Opinion Quarterly. Also of significant interest is a comprehensive inventory of poll questions relating to the published poll data on poverty-related issues at the major survey data repository in the U.S., the Roper Public Opinion Research Center at Williams College. Many of the responses to the items in the inventory of poll questions are in the collection of poll data.

In adddition to the secondary poll data and survey research literature, another large collection of computer printouts of raw data from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Surveys of 1972, 1973 and 1974 was set up. This data, on which Section III of this study is based, was especially geared to showing the responses of the poor and non-poor nationally and cross-tabulated with several variables, to a spectrum of economic, social and moral questions.

The following is a list of the various poll organizations and survey research centers from whom I have collected material. Below each organization and center is a list of some of the material that is in the collection, with a brief description, where relevant, of its contents.

MATERIAL OF THE POLL ORGANIZATIONS AND SURVEY RESEARCH CENTERS

GALLUP POLL--AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION (AIPO)

Gallup Opinion Index--June 1965 to Present

The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971
(3 vols.--Gallup Press releases on all issues; index in vol. 3)

Sample Composition of Those with Incomes Under $6,000 Per Year
(Poor and Near-Poor)
Used by Gallup Poll in
Survey # AIPO 881-K
Survey # AIPO 882-K (October 19-21, 1973)
Survey # AIPO 883-K (November, 1973)

Per Annum Household Income--Percent of Population
Used by Gallup Poll for those with incomes under $10,000 and under $6,000 in surveys # 880-K, 881-K, 878-K and 877-K.

Per Annum Household Income--Percent of Population, Sample Composition Of Those with Incomes Under $6,000
Used by Gallup Poll in surveys # 882-K and 883-K

Occupation Code Used by Gallup Poll
Breakdown of occupational classification by job description

Description of Regions Used by Gallup Poll by States
(In the race/region category of surveys #881-K, 882-K and 883-K "southern" refers to states designated south in region breakdown; "northern" refers to all other regions.)

Gallup Poll Coding of Income by Week

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES

The Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion 1970

The Harris Survey--1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975
(Current Harris Survey releases on all issues)

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

Several issues of ORC Public Opinion Index pertaining to surveys taken by ORC on poverty-related issues.

ROPER PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER--WILLIAMS COLLEGE

Roper Poll Data Inventory on Poverty Issues

Complete collection of questions relating to opinions of poor and others about the poor in economic, social and moral issues which are in the data holdings at the Roper Public Opinion Research Center. This is the major repository for survey data in the U.S. The collection covers the period from the middle 1930's to the present date and has been organized by major subject headings according to the item index category headings used at the Roper Center. The data relating to these questions can be obtained from the Roper Center either as printouts, tables, punched cards or magnetic tapes and can be cross-tabulated up to five variables.

Various of these data are available in-house in the large collection of survey samples received from Hazel Erskine, Polls Editor of the Public Opinion Quarterly and such books as Hadley Cantril's, Public Opinion 1935-1946 and the three-volume Gallup organization publication, The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971. Some data are also available in-house from "The Polls" section of the Public Opinion Quarterly. Studies that we have from the various survey research centers also pertain to some of these questions. The collection of questions as such represents a unique inventory of the published survey data that are available on economic, social and moral issues touching on poverty.

Factual Data Deck: Codes and Instructions

This lists and codes all the data available at the Roper Center that gives a demographic description of the survey respondents.

Current Opinion

A monthly digest of published polls giving views on contemporary issues.

Small Collection of Tabulations

Tabulations of items collected during previous work under the following category headings: Drink, Drugs and Indulgence; Economic Affairs; Education; Government, U.S.; Marriage and Family; Military Affairs; Morals and Mores; and Religion.

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH--THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Bibliographies and Collection of Books, Studies and Articles Put Out By the Staff of ISR

(Some data tape listings are also included)

ISR Newsletter

The Inter-University Consortium for Political Research
This is an organization for cooperation between the Center for Political Studies, The Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan and numerous other universities. It has a large number of data holdings in three archives: The Survey Research Archives, The Historical Archive and The International Relations Archive. In-house is ICPR's current Guide to Resources and Services and the codebook, Historical Demographic, Economic and Social Data: The United States, 1790-1970. The Guide to Resources and Services contains a listing of the ICPR data holdings and their summary descriptions, indicating material that has been published based on these data. The holdings cover a wide range of fields and issues.

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER--THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Bibliographies and Collection of Books, Studies and Articles Put Out By the Staff of NORC
(Availability of some data tapes also indicated)

NORC Newsletter

Printouts and Codebooks for the 1972, 1973 and 1974 General Social Surveys. The General Social Survey is an omnibus poll asking key social, moral, political and demographic questions repeated each year over a proposed span of five years. It is administered under the National Data Program for the Social Sciences.

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH--COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Bibliographies and Collection of Books, Studies, Articles and Current Projects of the Bureau

SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER--UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Bibliography and Collection of Books, Studies and Articles Done By the SRC Staff

Catalog of Studies in the Collection of the International Data Library and Reference Service
Since 1961 this organization has been acquiring basic data from important American and foreign surveys of national, regional, local and special populations. Data is available on tape and cards.

SURVEY RESEARCH LABORATORY--UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Complete Listing of Data Holdings of the Social Science Data Archive of the Survey Research Laboratory. The areas covered include economics, political behavior, psychology, sociology, education, labor relations, government and census material.

Newsletter of the Social Science Data Archive entitled Data Tapes.

INFORMATION UTILIZATION LABORATORY, UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES--UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Listing of Social Science Data Archives in the U.S.
(Current as of November 1973)

Computer printout of poverty-related material in: 1) Secondary Data Analysis Collection; 2) Current Index to Journals in Education; and 3) Research in Education. "The first of these is based upon a file of data-set descriptions which we have developed from social science research centers' data inventories. The other two are taken from files which we acquire in computer-readable form from the Educational Resources Information Center."

The listing of items is extensive and resulted from a computer search made by the Information Utilization Laboratory of their computerized collections of survey research data-sets and technical reports related to the area of poverty and poverty issues. Each item on the list gives a description of the project, study or report and information as to where to locate it. Large numbers of published reports and articles are listed in all areas related to our poverty study.

Publications List

LOUIS HARRIS POLITICAL DATA CENTER--UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Annotated Listing of Data Holdings in the Social Science Data Library. "SSDL collections and sources include Harris Public Opinion Polls, Human Relations Area Files, U.S. Census Data, Southeastern Regional Surveys, Comparative State Election Project, Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Knight Newspapers, Inc." Data is available on tape or cards, but many of the survey results and findings have been published in reports, books and articles and relevant publications are listed.

Articles and Reports based on Louis Harris and Knight Newspapers surveys.